



**St. Marks Vestry
Committee**

REPORT ON

**THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF
THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST
IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

NOTES

A REPORT TO THE VESTRY
OF
ST. MARK'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH
SHREVEPORT, LOUISIANA
ON THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL
OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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Shreveport, Louisiana

RESOLUTION

Q. Mr. Lyons: "There were 168 members and only 15 voted against it. There were some that abstained and some absent but only 15 voted against it."

A. Dr. Miller: "The date of that is what was the decisive policy decision for not reappointing the lay committee. It was not disbanded."

Q. Mr. McCord: "Sir?"

A. Dr. Miller: "It wasn't disbanded, but it wasn't reappointed. Isn't that correct?"

Q. Mr. McCord: "It says that the National Lay Committee was disbanded officially by action of the Council's General Board on June 30, 1955."

Q. Mr. Lyons: "But the fundamental thing here is that Dr. Miller questioned whether or not that report embodies everything considered from the point of view of the committee as a whole and I would judge on that one vote of the lay affirmation that it would. The general sense of the whole committee would be largely the same as that report."

Q. Mr. McCord: "Let's put it in the record further as long as we are going to go into it, because the lay committee vote is set forth here, and whether or not we are going to call this a Pew report or a National Council laity report is insignificant. Here is what is quoted in the Pew report and for the record on the approval of the lay affirmation there were 168 members present or voting of which 115 members approved the lay affirmation and 15 refused approval and 11 were away and 10 members abstained and 17 members were not heard from. Now, there is the lay affirmation."

A. Dr. Miller: "Does the book say this was done in committee?"

Q. Mr. McCord: "Well, I will read it to you."

A. Dr. Miller: "The 'not heard from' brings back what I think is the truth, namely, that the committee never met to consider it. It was a mailed vote and the not heard from I think is the key there to verify my memory."

Q. Mr. McCord: "Would that make any great big difference if you had 115 members that approved it. That would tend to express to me that this is not a Pew report, as you say it is, but a report reflecting the opinions of at least 115 members of the lay committee."

A. Dr. Miller: "Yes, Sir."

Q. Mr. Madison: "I think that is particularly emphasized since some of them refused to go along and some of them abstained."

WHEREAS, at a meeting of the Vestry of the St. Mark's Episcopal Church, Shreveport, Louisiana, held on June 13, 1960, the Rector of the Church was instructed to appoint a committee to study The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America (NCCCA), and

WHEREAS, said Committee was immediately thereafter appointed and after extensive research has rendered a report of its findings and conclusions, fully documented; and

WHEREAS, said Committee has made numerous interim reports to this Vestry, provoking on such occasions general and lengthy discussions of various aspects of the matter, and has (in advance of the special Vestry meeting at which these resolutions are adopted) provided copies of its final report to all members of this Vestry for their individual study and consideration; and

WHEREAS, among other things, this report discloses that the said The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America has done and is doing a great number of things inconsistent with the best interest of our church and contrary to the purposes for which it was formed, among other things:

- (1) Speaking out, as the official voice of Protestantism in America, on such controversial issues as federal aid to education, the right-to-work laws, the ethical considerations of the steel dispute, the seating of Red China in the United Nations, etc;
- (2) Participating in lobbying activities before the United States Congress in fields of economic and political controversy;
- (3) Refusing to repudiate mistakes or to correct misinterpretations in the press regarding actions taken by the NCCCA except in those instances where such mistakes or misinterpretations are contrary to what the professional core of the NCCCA believes and professes;
- (4) Making no attempt to determine the attitude of the individual churches but at the same time allowing the public to gain the impression that it is voicing

RESOLUTION CONTINUED

the views of 39,000,000 Protestants in the United States; and

WHEREAS, the activities of said NOCCA are, in the opinion of the Vestry of the said St. Mark's Episcopal Church of Shreveport, Louisiana, contrary to the best interest of the Episcopal Church and in particular contrary to the best interest of the members of this church.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED:

- (1) That the report of the Committee be and it is hereby approved and adopted as a report of this Vestry; that the same be released to the press and other news media; that copies of said report and of these resolutions be forwarded to the Bishop of Louisiana, the Suffragen Bishop of Louisiana, to the Vestries of all Episcopal churches in Louisiana and to such others as said special committee may deem appropriate; and
- (2) That the Bishop of Louisiana be and he is hereby petitioned immediately to take such steps as may be necessary and expedient to cause the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America to withdraw from The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States.

CERTIFICATE

I, the undersigned Secretary of the Vestry of St. Mark's Episcopal Church, Shreveport, Louisiana, do hereby certify that the foregoing are true copies of resolutions adopted by said Vestry at a special meeting at the Church, in Shreveport, Louisiana, Friday, April 21, 1961.


J. N. Wright, Secretary

Q. Mr. Lyons: "Dr. Miller, my question has to do with the procedure involved in submitting to the lay committee for its consideration and any expression of opinion it wanted to make on any contemplated pronouncement on a political matter or any matter that the lay committee thought they should be consulted on and there was an implication in something someone said that to have done that would have made it possible for the lay committee to have exercised a veto or to have prevented the General Board from acting, and I don't think they -- it could be so set up but --"

A. Dr. Miller: "The decision of the General Board was not to allow that to happen."

Q. Mr. Lyons: "Allow what to happen, Dr. Miller?"

A. Dr. Miller: "The possibility of the lay committee thwarting the will of the total representative body of both clergy and lay."

Q. Mr. Lyons: "The lay committee was a committee responsible to the General Board, was it not?"

A. Dr. Miller: "Yes, sir."

Q. Mr. Lyons: "I just can't visualize a situation where a subcommittee, so to speak, of the larger group could be permitted to frustrate the larger group."

A. Dr. Miller: "Yes, sir, exactly. That is how we eliminated the lay committee, because it was the express judgment of the representatives of the lay committee that that is exactly what they hoped would happen and then the General Board said, 'if that is the situation then we don't need a lay committee.'"

Q. Mr. Lyons: "I don't know how the General Board could have felt that its will would have been overcome by the lay committee to have granted what the lay committee seemed to desire from what I gather which is only to be permitted to see and express their views of these things."

A. Dr. Miller: "Much stronger than that."

Q. Mr. Lyons: "What was it?"

A. Dr. Miller: "I would be glad to try to interpret it off the record, but not for the record."

Q. Mr. McCord: "Read this." (Indicating Pew Report)

A. Dr. Miller: "I think I should say this, sir. That which you are reading has absolutely no standing with the lay committee, only with the chairman, and that is the basic issue which the General Board dealt with in disbanding the lay committee. Many of the members of the lay committee were also members of the General Board and were completely out of harmony with the chairman of the lay committee."

Q. Mr. McCord: "If we are going to stay on this I will have to have one more shot at it because this lay affirmation to my mind notes the whole attitude of the committee."

A. Dr. Miller: "Written by the chairman."

communist programs with such genuine religious values as 'peace,' 'brotherhood,' 'justice.' One member bragged how in a church talk he had 'plugged' for Marx. The communists are careful, however, not to overdo it. One fellow was too ambitious. He was challenged by alert church members and relieved of his leadership duties.

3. To make contact with youth: through class discussions, recreational affairs, etc. The object is not necessarily to recruit (although in one church several young people did join) but to plant a seed of Marxist-Leninist thought.

4. To exploit the church in the Party's day-to-day agitational program. In the 1930's and 1940's the approach was chiefly through 'immediate economic and political' problems, with Party attempting to exploit the church's legitimate interest in better housing and the elimination of social injustices.

Today this tactic is overshadowed by the 'peace' issue. Every possible deceptive device is being used to link the Party's 'peace' program with the church. One Communist Party section issued instructions that every clergyman in the community be contacted to give a sermon on 'peace.' Encourage 'Party church members' to organize discussion groups, perhaps showing a 'peace' film. If possible, circulate 'peace' literature. If you can't get inside, stand outside. One organizer said: 'We are to dress up like other people and stand outside churches in our neighborhoods and use the slogan, "Peace on earth, good will toward men."'

5. To enlarge the area of Party contacts. One Party section advocated: Join small churches (100 to 500 membership), so that one can more easily work himself into a position of leadership. Make as many personal contacts as possible. Learn where the church member works, what his hobbies are, etc. Someday he might be used. One Party member, active in youth work, learned that the parents of several young people were working in an industrial plant. Securing this information was most important, he said.

6. To influence clergymen. A dedicated clergyman, being a man of God, is a mortal enemy of communism. But if he can, by conversion, influence, or trickery, be made to support the communist program once or a few times or many times, the Party gains. If, for example, a clergyman can be persuaded to serve as sponsor or officer of a communist front, to issue a testimonial or to sign a clemency petition for a communist 'victim of persecution,' his personal prestige lends weight to the cause.

APPENDIX

SECTION T

From pages 60 through 64 of the Transcript of the Conference with Dr. Miller, February 3, 1961:

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PREFACE

Since requests for this Report have been received from all sections of the United States, it is appropriate that some background information be furnished concerning St. Mark's and the Vestry Committee for the benefit of those who lack such information.

St. Mark's Church, Shreveport, founded in 1839, is the largest Episcopal Church in the Diocese which includes the entire State of Louisiana. It has over 2,100 active communicants and a Sunday school enrollment of about 850. In addition to the Sunday school, it conducts a Day School which is currently being expanded.

The special Committee appointed by the Vestry to investigate the NCCCA includes the Rector, both Wardens, the Chancellor, and the Chairman of the Day School as well as several additional laymen, all of whom were Vestrymen at the time the Committee was appointed. Several of the Committee have served at one time or another as chairmen of annual or special fund raising drives of St. Mark's. All have participated in various civic endeavors.

The oldest member of the Committee is 61, the youngest 34. The average age is about 46 years.

The educational background of the Committee is varied; the Universities attended by Committee members range from Ivy League to the Southwest and Louisiana Universities. Three have legal backgrounds; two are engineers, and one is a geologist.

The Committee's approach to its assignment was neither prejudiced nor provincial. Its work was done in a careful, unhurried, dispassionate and analytical manner. Ten months were spent in the study and preparation of this Report. The Committee had but one objective in mind: to determine the facts and to draw its own independent conclusions therefrom, using as its sole standard for ultimate judgment what it conceived to be the long-term best interest of the Church.

We sincerely request that you read and study this Report in the same spirit in which it was written, without prejudgment or prejudice.

The Vestry Committee
ST. MARK'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH
908 Rutherford
Shreveport, Louisiana
H. E. Linam, Chairman

May, 1961

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nation, exploitation, and economic want. To fight for communism, they say, is to become part of the most sacred crusade in the history of man."

FROM PAGE 96:

"Finally, we should not permit the use of our names unless we know the true identity of the soliciting group. We should use our right of petition to further the American way of life, and not allow the communists to steal it from us."

FROM PAGES 205-206:

"Mass agitation is most effective in capturing the support of noncommunists. By securing even the temporary allegiance of an individual, as in a testimonial, the Party gains. In this way communist propaganda enters the orbit of that individual's personal influence. 'Why,' a friend will say after reading the testimonial, 'if So-and-So endorses that organization (or issue), it must be OK.' The dupe becomes a communist thought-control relay station. That's why communists are always eager to secure the support of doctors, clergymen, teachers, and other persons highly respected in their communities. The more widely known the person, the better."

FROM PAGES 324, 325, 326:

"This 'practical approach' means attempting through deceptive tactics, to capture support from American religious groups for an atheistic Communist Party. As Foster put it in 1937:

In consequence, the anti-religious Communist Party is now to be found in close united front cooperation with dozens of churches and other religious organizations on questions of immediate economic and political interest to the toiling masses.

In line with these tactics, the Party is today engaged in a systematic program to infiltrate American religious groups. 'The Communist Party,' said the National Committee in 1954, 'declares that it seeks no conflict with any Church or any American's religious belief. On the contrary, we stretch out our hand in the fellowship of common struggle for our mutual goal of peace, democracy and security to all regardless of religious belief.' Members are being told: 'Join churches and become involved in church work.'

The Party's objectives inside religious groups are several:

1. To gain 'respectability': '... a church is the best front we can have.' Comrades, by associating in church circles, secure an 'acceptable' status in the community, greater credence for their opinions, and the hulling of noncommunist suspicions.
2. To provide an opportunity for the subtle dissemination of communist propaganda. Churches are convincing places in which to identify

I know that he questioned the wisdom of what is called a comprehensive book list, lest people assume that we were endorsing all of the titles included, as representing a Christian point of view. I must say also that he was absent from the country while the list was being prepared. I am attaching copy of a statement which has been given me by Dr. Lee for such use as I may care to make of it. You will note that he attempts to explain the facts with respect to the issuance of the bibliography issued by his department, but accepts full responsibility for the list, as head of his department.

I hope that this letter gives you the data you need in order to reply to Mr. Morford. I am sure that you will feel as I do, that you cannot justify this book list but that at least it should be helpful for Mr. Morford to know that we recognize the lack of wisdom exercised in issuing the book list and are uneasy about it ourselves. I also want you to know that the Council has taken steps to avoid the unfortunate circumstances being repeated.

Along with this, I must say that I think the greatest harm that may have come out of the issuing of the book list is the mis-use of it by enemies of the Council who have distorted the nature of the list and who have misrepresented the purposes for which it was issued.

With all best wishes.

Sincerely,
Roy C. Ross
General Secretary

RGR/dg
Encl.

APPENDIX SECTION 5

J. Edgar Hoover, in Masters of Deceit:

FROM PAGE 63:

"3. Dupes. The final area is that of the dupe, or innocent victim, the individual who unknowingly is under communist thought control and does the work of the Party. A tragedy of the past generation in the United States is that so many persons, including high-ranking statesmen, public officials, educators, ministers of the gospel, professional men, have been duped into helping communism. Communist leaders have proclaimed that communism must be partly built with non-communist hands, and this, to a large extent, is true.

Communist propaganda is tailored to attract noncommunists. Communism offers a bogus 'spiritual appeal,' a 'Kingdom of God on earth.' Its tactics and strategy are covered with attractive, appealing words, such as 'freedom,' 'justice,' and 'equality.' The communists claim they are working for a 'better world,' that they have the answer to discrim-

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INTRODUCTION

At its June 13, 1960 meeting, the Vestry by unanimous resolution instructed the Rector to appoint a committee to study The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States (NCCCA). This committee was immediately thereafter appointed, and has been studying the NCCCA continuously ever since. This report is a summation of its findings and conclusions.

Many times in this report we will quote Dr. J. Quinter Miller, with whom we had a lengthy question and answer conference on February 3, 1961. Dr. Miller is an Assistant General Secretary of the NCCCA. He has worked for the NCCCA and its predecessors for over 25 years; he is an ordained minister but has never been the Pastor of a church. The proceedings of our interview were recorded by a Court Reporter and the full transcript is available in Shreveport upon request.

FINDINGS

Theoretically, and perhaps practically, the NCCCA does many things which are good. It conducts foreign missionary work; it distributes food and clothing to many who need it overseas. It prepares and distributes church literature.

But we have not discovered any so-called evangelistic activity of the NCCCA which is not also a function of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Our church also conducts foreign missionary work and publishes literature.

Our investigation leads us to the following conclusions:

The NCCCA has done and is doing a great number of things that we feel are not in the best interest of the Church. We have proved beyond a reasonable doubt that it has made a practice of speaking on behalf of all members of the 34 denominations comprising the NCCCA, when it is in fact not specifically authorized to do so. In this regard, it has been deceitful, in that it actually did desire the impression to be made on the public that it spoke officially for "the 39 million."

The NCCCA has far exceeded its rightful role in speaking out, as the official voice of Protestantism in America, on such controversial issues as federal aid to education, the right-to-work laws, the ethical considerations of the steel dispute, the seating of Red China in the United Nations, etc.

The NCCCA, although not communistic, has been an aid to the communist conspiracy.

It has been hypocritical in assuaging "guilt by association" and "name calling" in one breath and employing it in the next.

It was deceitful in the manner in which it handled the Fifth World Order Study Conference in Cleveland. It is deceitful in refusing to repudiate mistakes or to correct misinterpretations in the press, except when

Dr. Henry M. Bullock
The Methodist Church
301 Eighth Avenue, South
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Bullock:

I write this letter in answer to your inquiry of November 2 concerning an inquiry, in turn, which you have received from the Rev. Elbert S. Morford of Mesa, Arizona. I am writing to you because I assume that you will wish to answer his questions yourself, but you are free to use this communication in any way that you wish.

First, let me answer the two questions which you, yourself, have asked. In reply to the first, as to which writers are known to be communists, I will have to say that neither I nor any member of the staff know of any of the writers who are communists. There have been allegations, some of which we know are untrue. We do know that one writer implied, in testimony before the Un-American Activities Committee that prior to 1953 his books had reflected a sympathetic attitude toward Communism, but definitely confirming that he no longer was so inclined and had no communist affiliations.

As to the purpose of this publication, it was the definite impression of the Director of the department when he agreed to the process of preparation, that it was to be a comprehensive reading list for mature leaders in the churches who would wish to know the viewpoints of all segments of American society with respect to Negro life. It was not intended to be exclusively a list of books which represented a Christian point of view. I must confess to the list, as it finally emerged, would imply that this book list was for further reading purposes, though it did attempt by age group classifications to protect children and youth from the type of material that would not be proper for them to have. The supply of the book list is exhausted and there is no plan to reprint it. Now, having answered your questions, let me say some additional things:

First - I am very much embarrassed by the fact that this Book list was issued. I feel that it was very unwise and inappropriate. Because of that fact we have appointed a committee which is now preparing guide lines for staff with respect to the issuance of any book list in the future. We cannot, in an organization the size of the National Council of Churches, take responsibility in any one office for all of the detailed publications which grow out of seventy departments in any central office, but it is our thought that if we have proper guide lines, we can hold individual staff members responsible to their appropriate supervisory bodies in such matters.

Second: - As I have talked with Dr. J. Oscar Lee, the head of this department, I find that he is as much embarrassed as am I, even though he has been much closer to the situation out of which this book list emerged.

- (11) Jefferson School of Social Science (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
- (12) Progressive Citizens of America (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
- (13) Southern Negro Youth Congress (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
- (14) Voice of Freedom Committee (Defending Pro-Communist radio speakers) (Listed as a supporter of communist book shops)
- (15) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions (Signer of statement or speaker in defense of communist cases)
- (16) Signer of statement "We negro americans" defending Communist Party, April 28, 1947
- (17) Listed as one of 81 supported by the Communist Party, United States of America
- (18) Listed as one of 16 supported by individual communists
- (19) National Free Earl Browder Congress, 1942
- (20) Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder, 1942
- (21) Civil Rights Congress participant in support of Gerhault Eisler
- (22) Citizens' Committee to Defend Representative Governments Supporting Seating of Gerson Communist, 1948
- (23) Signer of statement in behalf of communist party leaders, January 17, 1949
- (24) Signer protest against Anti-Soviet Film "The Iron Curtain"
- (25) Signed statement calling for conference with Soviet Union, June, 1948
- (26) Golden Book of American Friendship with the Soviet Union (Cited as communist enterprise by Committee on Un-American Activities)
- (27) Soviet Russia Today (Publication) (Cited as a communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities)
- (28) Contributor to Main Stream
- (29) Sponsor of the World Peace Conference

SOURCE: House Report No. 1954, April 19, 1949

APPENDIX SECTION R

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST in the U.S.A.
476 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N. Y. Riverside 9-3200
Rev. Edwin T. Dahlberg, President

Rev. Roy G. Ross, General Secretary

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such mistakes or misrepresentations are harmful to what they (the professional core of the NCCCA) believe and profess.

We believe that such deceit is not a proper Christian attitude.

The NCCCA is in fact, if not in theory, dominated by a hard core of professionals, some of whom have never done pastoral work. We believe they may consider themselves leaders of what they would like to consider as a super church. They deliberately destroyed the Lay Committee of the NCCCA because the NCCCA could not effectively spread its propaganda with such a loud dissonant voice from within. We are of the opinion that there is something basically wrong with a religious organization which cannot bear to have within its framework a highly responsible group of the laity simply because it disagrees with the dominating clergy.

It is wrong for the NCCCA to carry out lobbying activities with the federal government at all, and it is particularly erroneous for it to do so as the professed voice of Protestantism.

There are only two choices available in reaching a conclusion in regard to the reading list, "The Negro American", which it published. Either the NCCCA displayed incompetence in allowing it to be distributed, or else it was distributed deliberately as a corrosive. In all charity we must conclude that it was a display of incompetence, which conclusion strengthens our conviction that the NCCCA should refrain from taking stands on highly controversial issues in politics and economics: besides not being so authorized, it is not competent to judge upon all of these matters.

The most important point of all is this: far from being the great cohesive power it was intended to be, the NCCCA by its actions is splitting the churches wide open. We believe that it is doing much more harm than good; that its actions will restrict the attracting of new members to the church; that it will alienate and is now alienating many of the now faithful parishioners; that it is creating disastrous dissension in all Protestant Churches. We know for a fact that it is wreaking such havoc in individual churches that meeting of budgets is being impaired, and that lifelong friendships between laity and clergy, and between laity and laity, are being strained.

In summation, we conclude with firm conviction and only after long study and prayer, that the National Council of Churches as it is presently constituted and operated, is a harmful and highly dangerous institution.

SECTION ONE

PRONOUNCEMENTS, RESOLUTIONS AND REPRESENTATIONS

The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A. was organized in 1950 as a merger of the old Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and seven smaller religious organizations.¹ The NCCCA

¹ Appendix, Section A-1, page 1.

is basically a continuation of the Federal Council, and the Preamble as well as the body of the Constitution of the NCCCA make it clear that the NCCCA shall continue the work of the Federal Council.² In addition, some of the specific actions of the Federal Council, taken years before the formation of the NCCCA, are lauded by some official actions of departments of the NCCCA; the NCCCA also adopts works, statements, goals, etc. of the Federal Council as its own.³

It now embraces 34 Protestant Communions with 39,000,000 members. Its budgets more than \$12,000,000 net a year — about 61 per cent from the churches; 26 per cent from sales of materials (mostly literature); 12 per cent in gifts from corporations and others; and 1 per cent from miscellaneous sources. (Percentages and budget figures from current National Council pamphlet, "The National Council of Churches, What It Is, What It Does.")

The Preamble to the Constitution of the new organization stated that it was formed because

"... in the Providence of God, the time has come when it seems more fully fitting to manifest Oneness in Jesus Christ as Divine Lord and Saviour, by the creation of an inclusive cooperative agency of the Christian churches of the United States of America..."

Under the heading, "Objects," the Constitution listed 10 purposes (Article II, Sections 1-10), all intended primarily to (Article II, Section 4) "assist in the spread of the Christian religion," and encourage Christianity in its basic religious tenets of Faith, Fellowship, and Charity — the latter word used here in its simple dictionary definition of "Christian love."

In the 11 years since adoption of that Constitution, the NCCCA may have achieved some of its aims in the purely Christian religious fields referred to above.

But it also has become a national and even international propaganda machine in controversial political issues involving baffling problems in constitutional and statutory law which have split Congresses, created deep schisms within both major political parties, divided bar associations, resulted even in reversal by the Supreme Court of its own previous decisions, and provoked basic differences of opinion in groups everywhere, including Church congregations.

The NCCCA has done this in the name of Christianity and Christian unity, yet obviously the more controversial an issue the greater the cleavage in opinion concerning it.

Thus, instead of fostering Christian love and unity, the NCCCA's course has been one to encourage and breed dissension among Protestant Christians and in their Communions and churches over political problems

- (4) Progressive Citizens of America (Cited as subversive by the California Committee on Un-American Activities)
 - (5) School for Democracy (Cited as subversive by the Committee on Un-American Activities)
 - (6) Listed as a supporter of Communist book shops
 - (7) Listed as a member of Citizen's Committee for Robert Thompson and Benjamin J. Davis
 - (8) Signer of letter defending open letter to Soviet Writers of Masses and Main Stream
 - (9) Signer of statement supporting Soviet Union versus Current United States Leadership in Literary Gazette, Moscow 1948
 - (10) Writer for Masses and Main Stream (Listed as a Communist publication)
 - (11) Main Stream, the Negro Quarterly (Cited as subversive by the California Committee on Un-American Activities)
 - (12) New Masses
 - (13) Listed as one of the Sponsors of the World Peace Conference
- SOURCE: House Report No. 1954, April 19, 1949

Q-4 W.E.B. DUBOIS

W. E. B. DuBois is listed as either a member or sponsor of or signer for the various organizations, committees and other activities following:

- (1) Win the Peace Conference (Congress) (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
- (2) Sponsor of the New York Cultural Conference
- (3) Sponsor of the World Congress for Peace in Paris (And listed as Co-Chairman)
- (4) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
- (5) American Council for a Democratic Greece (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
- (6) American Labor Party (Cited as subversive by the Committee on Un-American Activities)
- (7) California Labor School (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
- (8) Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy (Cited as subversive by California Committee on Un-American Activities)
- (9) National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East (Cited as subversive by the California Committee on Un-American Activities)
- (10) Civil Rights Congress (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)

2. Appendix, Section A-3, page 1.
3. Appendix, Section B-1, page 11.

- (16) National Citizens' Political Action Committee (cited as subversive by the Committee on Un-American Activities)
 - (17) National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
 - (18) National Negro Congress (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
 - (19) New Theater League (Cited as subversive by the Committee on Un-American Activities)
 - (20) Peoples' Radio Foundation, Inc. (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
 - (21) Peoples' Songs, Inc. (Cited as subversive by California Committee on Un-American Activities)
 - (22) Schools for Democracy (Cited as subversive by Committee on Un-American Activities)
 - (23) Southern Conference for Human Welfare (Cited as subversive by the Committee on Un-American Activities)
 - (24) Voice of Freedom Committee (Defending Pro-Communist Radio Speakers)
 - (25) Listed as a supporter of communist book shops
 - (26) Listed as a member of the Communist Party in the United States of America
 - (27) Called for the support of the Communist Party in national elections and its candidate
 - (28) Listed as a member of the Committee of Professional Groups for Foster and Ford
 - (29) Listed as a member of the League of Professional Groups for Foster and Ford
 - (30) Listed as a member of the Committee for the re-election of Benjamin J. Davis, communist, 1945
 - (31) Listed as a member of the Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee -- (Declaration honoring Georgi Dimitrov, General Secretary, Communist International)
- SOURCE: House Report No. 1954, April 19, 1949

Q-3 HERBERT APTHEKER

Herbert Aptheker is listed as either a member or sponsor or of signer for the various organizations, committees and other activities following:

- (1) Sponsor of the New York Cultural Conference
- (2) Civil Rights Congress (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
- (3) Jefferson School of Social Science (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)

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having no place in the worship of God. The end result has been to weaken the confidence of American Protestants in their own clerical leadership and to divide them against each other in bitter disputes even within individual congregations. The effect of the NCCCA in its political activities thus has been to hinder rather than to help Christianity.

The NCCCA carries on with this almost daily political propaganda through a huge staff organization of 200 executive and administrative officials plus 600 employees of lesser importance (figures by Dr. Miller in his testimony before the Vestry Committee) and through 70 groups known as Units, General Departments, Divisions, Departments of Divisions, Committees and professional Staff Study personnel totalling approximately 6,000 persons. (Facsimiles of the NCCCA's organization chart and its membership and General Board make-up are included as Appendix, Section E, page xiii).

An Office of Information, well staffed and with an Executive Director, pours forth to communications media, the churches, and the people generally the controversial political propaganda which the NCCCA contends is part of its furtherance of Christianity on the vague principle that everything in life -- business, social, economic, or religious -- could be improved by greater use of Christian principles, an obvious truism. The NCCCA's controversial political propaganda goes forth not only in professionally handled publicity but through speeches, reports, General Board and General Assembly Pronouncements and through legislative lobby by testimony before Congressional Committees of its representatives -- along lines set by the General Board.

Press releases of the NCCCA, Pronouncements of the General Board, and utterances and statements of various officials of the NCCCA make it clear that the organization presents itself as "the voice of Eastern Orthodox and American Protestantism" and as "representative of" the "thinking of" its 34 constituent Communions and their 39,000,000 Protestant members. ^{4,5}

Dr. Miller pointed out to the Vestry Committee that the NCCCA seeks to be a voice for Protestantism similar to the voice of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy. ⁶ The Roman Catholic Church is a single organization with all of its individual Churches under control of one central authority. Protestantism is not so organized and does not now so function except to the extent that the NCCCA has, in exceeding its mandate, arrogated to itself such authority. Dr. Miller also said that the federal government often calls on the NCCCA for "the Protestant viewpoint" on various issues.

The statement directly suggests a basic issue: that the NCCCA, chiefly through its General Board is looked upon as the voice of Protestantism -- including the Protestant Episcopal faith and St. Mark's Church -- and that

4. Appendix, Section D-1, page xxi-ii.
5. Appendix, Section D, page xii.
6. Appendix, Section C-2, page ix.

it deliberately fosters the belief that it is the voice of Protestantism, when it actually is not and cannot be.

Dr. Miller said there has been confusion about the authority of the NCCCA because of "garbling" by the press. There are 1,735 daily newspapers, with 58,299,723 circulation (World Almanac, 1961). Probably not more than half a dozen have New York news offices. The rest get whatever news they print about the NCCCA from the press associations, each of which has a religion editor in New York. The religion editors are in constant contact with the NCCCA's Office of Information.

While an individual reporter or newspaper may have garbled a NCCCA news story at some time or other, it is inconceivable that the press associations have been doing so for 11 years — especially since the NCCCA holds press conferences in "well staffed and equipped press rooms" (quotation from NCCCA news release 17 GA 2/10/61) for Board meetings.⁷

It is inconceivable also that, if there had been widespread garbling leading to widespread misunderstanding of the functions of the NCCCA, the guiding executives of the organization should not have repudiated such garbling long ago. Dr. Miller said there has been no repudiation.⁸ Of course there hasn't. There is nothing to repudiate.

The NCCCA through its General Board, insists that the side taken by the National Council in a controversial political issue is the Christian side, the implication thus being that any other side is not Christian — or not as Christian as the NCCCA's.

But, on what grounds, for example, can anyone contend that medical care for the aged — an ideal and a purpose on which all Christians might agree — is Christian only if paid for by one method and not Christian if paid for by another method? Yet, that is a subject on which the NCCCA, through its General Board, has taken what it holds to be "the Christian stand" in legislative establishment of medical care for the aged.

Yet the points at issue in this legislation now pending are not care for the aged but means of paying for it and this was debated on opposite sides last fall by the two major presidential candidates almost daily. On election day there were only 115,000 votes difference between the candidates in 69,000,000 votes cast. By what assumption of omniscience does the NCCCA, through the General Board, determine which legislative method in obtaining care for the aged best serves Christianity?

The NCCCA is headed by a General Assembly of approximately 800. It meets every three years.

The day-to-day governing body, with full constitutional authority to act as it sees fit in any way except on such matters as membership in the NCCCA, is the General Board, made up of representatives of the national governing authorities of the various constituent Communions.

7. Appendix, Section D-3, page xi.
8. Appendix, Section C-3, pages v-vi.

- (2) Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
- (3) Progressive Citizens of America (Cited as subversive by the California Committee on Un-American Activities)
- (4) Listed as supporter of communist book shops
- (5) Signer of Communist Party nominating petition
- (6) Sponsor of the World Peace Conference

SOURCE: House Report No. 1954, April 19, 1949

Q-2 LANGSTON HUGHES

Langston Hughes is listed as either a member or sponsor of or signer for the various organizations, committees and other activities following:

- (1) Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions (Cited as subversive by the California Joint Facts-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities)
- (2) The American League Against War and Fascism
- (3) The American League for Peace and Democracy (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
- (4) American Peace Mobilization (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
- (5) Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (Cited as subversive by the Committee on Un-American Activities)
- (6) Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
- (7) American Labor Parties (Cited as subversive by the Committee on Un-American Activities)
- (8) American Youth for Democracy (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
- (9) Committee for Democratic Far Eastern Policy (Cited as subversive by the California Committee on Un-American Activities)
- (10) Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo (Cited as subversive by Committee on Un-American Activities)
- (11) International Labor Defense (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
- (12) International Worker's Order (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
- (13) Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
- (14) League of American Writers (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
- (15) Medical Bureau of North American Committee to aid Spanish Democracy (Cited as subversive by the Committee on Un-American Activities)

in the Public Schools," "Statements Adopted by the Fourth General Assembly," and "Resolutions on Violence in New Orleans."

4. This question is dealt with in "Christian Responsibility on a Changing Planet." See page 22.
5. We have statements from Drs. Bowie, Cadbury, Dahl and Waterman negating any Communist affiliation. Fleming James our bonored Episcopal teacher at Episcopal Theological Seminary in New Haven and Yale is now dead.
6. This list is completely out of print as are most of the books to which it refers. Perhaps your committee could get the best indication of the problem with which the issue deals if they could find in the Library the book, "Without Magnolias." This book is a realistic description of the moral climate within which many Negroes live and struggle for a better life.

I am sending you a copy of a little folder, "The Truth About the Churches, etc." which I wish your committee would read prior to my coming.

Now as to a possible time when I could meet with your committee. Would February 3 be a satisfactory time? What I would like to suggest is that I meet with your Committee on the afternoon of February 3 and that I meet with the Vestry and the committee when the committee reports Friday evening, February 3. I believe this would be much more satisfactory all around than to rely on a stenotype report of my meeting with the Committee. You are at perfect liberty to record said transaction if you wish, but I would much prefer dealing with the questions that may be in the minds of the Vestry as well as the committee if you think this has any merit. I will be coming into Shreveport from Eud, Oklahoma. I don't know what kind of transportation facilities are available, but I could leave Eud Friday morning, February 3, or, if necessary, Thursday night, February 2.

Please let me know your wishes thereon. Trusting that you will have a blessed and prosperous New Year, I am

Sincerely,
J. Quinter Miller
Assistant General Secretary

APPENDIX SECTION Q

Q-1 MARGARET HALSEY

Margaret Halsey is listed as either a member or sponsor or signer for the various organizations, committees and other activities following:

- (1) Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo (Cited as subversive by the Committee on Un-American Activities)

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The Board's membership varies from time to time, due to fractional votes being permitted. The Triennial Workbook for the General Assembly of last December, 1960, gives the Board a total of 173 votes divided among 273 members. Both the General Assembly and the Board are divided approximately 65 per cent clergymen and 35 per cent laymen. Representation of each Communion in both bodies is determined by a formula based chiefly on a Communion's total membership.

Instead of being an executive body administering programs "more fully to manifest Oneness in Jesus Christ as Divine Lord and Saviour" (Preamble of Constitution) the NCCCA's General Board functions in practical effect in the manner of a Protestant Political Propaganda Hierarchy.

Under the NCCCA's Bylaws⁹ (Article XV, Section 2), 20 members of the General Board constitute a quorum, provided they include members of at least 10 of the 34 constituent Communions. For the General Assembly, 60 representatives constitute a quorum. (Presumably this means members holding 20 and 60 full votes, respectively.)

Thus, 11-1/2 per cent of the voting membership of the General Board, if it is from 20-1/2 per cent of the Communions, is a quorum and can conduct business — with only 11 votes of the 20 being a majority of such attendances.

The NCCCA, when criticized for non-religious political propaganda activities, hides behind the contention that "actions of the Board commit no one."¹⁰ This statement literally is true and is set down in the Constitution and in other formal actions of the Board itself.

But the Pronouncements of the General Board are presented to the churches and the public in a manner to give the impression that they are representative of the thinking of the 34 constituent Communions and their 39,000,000 members. NCCCA activities and Board Pronouncements could not gain any volume of publicity in behalf of Christianity or political causes otherwise. What a quorum of 20 on the Board decided — or a minority of 50 or 75 — would not be "news" for any communications media or of interest to many people. It is the embracement of "39,000,000 Protestants" that draws attention to the NCCCA's activities and makes them important in the public mind and to the news media.

The most recent Pronouncement by the General Board — on federal aid to education at the Syracuse meeting last February 22, 1961 — was given to communications media by the NCCCA with a news release (No. 22 GA 3/14/61)¹¹ that this Pronouncement is made by the General Board as "representative of the 34 Protestant and Eastern Orthodox Communions in the Council. . . ." The General Board itself in a Resolution adopted at its September 14-15, 1954 meeting stated that its Pronouncements "do

9. Appendix, Section A-4, page 141.
10. Appendix, Section A-6, page 11.
11. Appendix, Section G, page 311.

have full value as an expression of the current conviction of the churches through it (the NCCCA's) General Assembly or General Board." The NCCCA is, collectively, the 34 Communions and their 39,000,000 Protestant members.

It is noteworthy that these representations mentioned above occurred both before and after Dr. Miller's appearance before the Vestry committee. It is almost unbelievable in light of the representations in the various resolutions that Dr. Miller, as a full-time staff member of the NCCCA, could claim that the NCCCA not only does not seek to foster the idea that it speaks for 39,000,000 Protestants, but actually attempts to remove this implication from press releases. The NCCCA will not, however, refute or repudiate such claims.¹² These contradictory assertions are deceitful.

The General Board is created through a somewhat nebulous chain of authority in which neither individual Protestants, nor individual churches, nor Dioceses have any direct voice in selecting Board members.

For example, St. Mark's Church has a voice in affairs of the Diocese of Louisiana. The Diocese of Louisiana has a voice in selection of the Protestant Episcopal National Council. The Protestant Episcopal National Council names members to the National Council of Churches General Board (and the General Assembly).

The Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Louisiana has no representation on the NCCCA's General Board. All Protestantism in Louisiana Communions belonging to the NCCCA is represented on the General Board only by two members of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc., (in Louisiana a segregated Colored branch of the Baptist Communion), each with one half a vote.¹³

It has not been the practice of the NCCCA to give expression to minority views on any political Pronouncement. The Board may act simply on knowledge and opinion of the members present, or it may have a report from one of the 70 entities of the NCCCA, or a staff report prepared by its own professionals.

But such Staff reports are not necessarily impartial or objective. They might be well compared to a brief prepared in a law firm to advocate whatever the law firm sought to advocate in a case at hand. Clearly the 39,000,000 Protestants have no way of knowing what is going on until it happens, and no recourse then.

Usually these political propaganda stands are approved by the General Board through less than a majority vote of its voting membership.

The Vestry Committee has had before it the official texts of approximately 40 political Pronouncements by the General Board from 1951

Correspondence (Continued) between Dr. Flumley and Dr. Miller:

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST
IN THE U.S.A.

475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, N. Y.

Rev. J. Quinter Miller
Assistant General Secretary
For Field Operations

Rev. Edwin T. Dahlberg,
President
Rev. Roy C. Ross, General
Secretary

Riverside 9-2200

December 30, 1960

The Rev. J. Lawrence Flumley, D.D.
St. Mark's Episcopal Church
Fairfield at Rutherford
Shreveport, Louisiana

Dear Dr. Flumley:

Forgive my delay in replying to your letter of November 30. It seemed to be well for me to put in your hands some basic materials bearing on Questions 2, 3 and 4 and to make brief references to our policy on Questions 1, 5 and 6. This material is being sent to you under separate cover. My purpose in offering to meet with representatives of your Church was, of course, a still broader one than to answer specifically simply the questions which you have posed, though they are very helpful. I will be happy to deal with them as follows:

1. I will outline the policies governing the officers and staff of the National Council with regard to representing its judgments before Congressional Committees. It is clearly established that the only representative and speaking function which the National Council exercises is assigned to the General Board or the General Assembly. Officers, committeemen and staff who appear at Congressional hearings, speak from within the policies that have been determined by the General Board and/or the General Assembly. In other words, we are interpreting what the representatives of the Churches have said on such matters.
2. The so-called "right-to-work" laws are dealt with in the leaflet, "Ethical Issues in Industrial Relations of Concern to Christians." See paragraph 4 on page 5. The pertinent sentence is, "union membership as a basis of continuing employment should be neither required nor forbidden by law."
3. This question is covered in such materials as, "The Churches and Segregation," "Non-Segregated Housing," "Meetings and Conventions," "Sit-In Demonstrations," "U.S. Supreme Court Decision on Segregation

12. Appendix, Section C-3, page 107.
13. Appendix, Section D-5, page xii.

sketches presented in the pamphlet "Truth," if any, do they belong to? The Committee has been informed that the pamphlet "Truth" seemingly praises these individuals, while Mr. Arens, Staff Director of the Un-American Activities Committee, accuses them of various affiliations with Communist fronts and causes.

- (6) The Chairman of our Committee has been informed that Representative Donald Jackson, in a speech before the House of Representatives on April 30, 1960 (Congressional Record, Vol. 106, No. 72), made some very serious accusations relative to a 41-page pamphlet entitled "The Negro American - A Reading List" and that, according to Representative Jackson, this list of reading material was compiled in 1957 by the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches. Some of the members of our Committee think that if this information is correct The National Council of Churches should answer why it sponsors the works of some authors whom Representative Jackson brands as Communists or fellow travelers, or else submit evidence that Representative Jackson was in error in his statements relative to these authors.

In this connection, the Committee does not have this list of recommended books said to be compiled by the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, and it would be appreciated if you would forward to me the works referred to, so that the members of the Committee may secure some of these books, and familiarize themselves with their contents prior to meeting with you.

I am sure that you will understand that the Committee must report back to the Vestry. In order to avoid any possibility of misinterpretation by the Committee of your remarks, and in order to insure the accuracy of its report to the Vestry, the Committee requests that a shorthand reporter be present or that your statements and your answers to questions be recorded. I feel you will have no objection to this, since I know it is your desire, as well as ours, that the members of the Committee take steps to insure that its report to the Vestry will be as accurate as is humanly possible.

Please let me know the date on which you can meet with the members of the Committee.

Cordially yours,
J. Lawrence Flumley

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through 1959.¹⁴ Many of these were passed by voice votes. But, where a record vote was taken, not a single one of these Resolutions mustered as many as one-half of 173 General Board votes.

For example, the General Board's first Pronouncement on federal aid to education (Pronouncement No. 13, 2-1, May 18, 1954) was passed by the General Board through a vote of 33 to 8, the favorable total being 54 less than a majority of the 173 votes on the Board. Here is an issue which—with some amplifications—still is red hot not only in Congress but all over the nation and has been throughout the seven years since the 1954 action of the General Board. Yet, at that time, the General Board—with only 23 per cent of its voting membership present and less than 20 per cent of the voting membership approving the Pronouncement—disposed of this issue handily.

The only General Board Pronouncement that has come to the Vestry Committee's attention in which a majority of the voting membership was recorded in the tally was a second federal aid to education Pronouncement passed at the Syracuse General Board meeting last February 22, 1961. This drew 87 affirmative votes, exactly one more than a majority of the total voting membership.

In this discussion the Vestry Committee is not concerned with which side of any issue the General Board has taken. Our point is that any political Pronouncements of the type often made are not in accord with the constitutionally announced purposes of the NCCCA, or with what we consider to be the obvious intent in forming the NCCCA in 1950, and that they should be no part of non-denominational activities by many Protestant denominations united "... to manifest Oneness in Jesus Christ as Divine Lord and Savior...."

While the Vestry Committee has avoided questions of what side the NCCCA takes in pronouncements on various controversial, political issues, it has become obvious to us in our studies that it nearly always is found on the side of more government control of the lives and liberties of individuals. Thus, in the pretense of seeking One Christian World, it actually is seeking One Political World.

When 69,000,000 Americans of all walks of life, all religious beliefs or no religious beliefs, of all colors and creeds, split evenly at the political polls, the same political differences must extend on into every group or organization, including the Protestant Communions, Dioceses and individual congregations.

Through its political activities, the NCCCA carries this political discord into the many facets of Protestant Christianity and thus builds fires of destruction under the tenets of Christian Faith, Fellowship and Charity which it was created to preserve and increase.

As an example of questions on which the General Board acts—supposedly in furtherance of Christianity—we cite the following Pronounce-

14. Appendix, Section II, pages xlii-cv.

ments and the total of favorable votes cast; in each case less than a majority, but with the public obviously given the impression that these positions are "representative of" or "the current thinking of" 34 Protestant Communions with 39,000,000 members:

PRONOUNCEMENT 25.3-1, June 2, 1960: An Agenda of what the United States government should do as action for peace. Sixty-nine votes for, three against.

PRONOUNCEMENT 25.3-2, June 2, 1960: In this Pronouncement a NCCCA position on use of nuclear energy was approved with 57 favorable votes in the General Board—30 less than a majority.

PRONOUNCEMENT 34.2-1, June 4, 1958: Protesting that there might be too much secrecy in the American government concerning control of armaments and the use of space. The pronouncement was passed with 57 favorable votes—30 less than a majority.

PRONOUNCEMENT 20.2-1, June 6, 1956: A demand for freeing of all Japanese war prisoners. Passed by 67 affirmative votes, 90 less than a majority.

PRONOUNCEMENT 21.2a, December 2, 1959: Covers ethics in industrial relations. Passed with 73 favorable votes, 14 less than a majority.

PRONOUNCEMENT 30.1-1, February 25, 1960: Dealing with health services, became the position of the NCCCA through 48 favorable votes, 99 less than a majority.

PRONOUNCEMENT 7.2-1, May 18, 1954: This Pronouncement on technical assistance to foreign countries became a policy of the NCCCA "as representative of" 34 Protestant Communions, with 39,000,000 members, by a vote of 31 for, 6 against, and 0 abstentions. It is the smallest total vote recorded for any Pronouncement available to the Vestry Committee from 1951 to the present.

Other examples of positions taken by the NCCCA through Pronouncements of its General Board—approved by less than a majority of the Board's total votes—could be cited, but the above are typical. As typical examples of positions taken by the NCCCA on purely political problems in which there is certain to be disagreement in almost any group of any type that can be brought together, we cite the following General Board Pronouncements enacted by voice vote:

PRONOUNCEMENT 2.1-2, June 4, 1958, Agriculture: Ethical Goals for Agricultural Policy. No vote record available.

PRONOUNCEMENT 3.1-1, December 5, 1957: International Aid and Trade. No vote record available.

Correspondence (Continued) between Dr. Flanley and Dr. Miller:

ST. MARK'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH
905 Rutherford Street
Shreveport, Louisiana
November 30, 1960

Mr. J. Quinter Miller,
Assistant General Secretary,
The National Council of Churches,
475 Riverside Drive,
New York 27, New York.

Dear Dr. Miller:

I have delayed replying to your letter of September 12, 1960, with reference to the possibility of meeting with a group of representatives of St. Mark's Episcopal Church, until I had an opportunity to meet with the Committee which was appointed by our Vestry and charged with the duty of investigating the activities of the National Council of Churches. This Committee is composed of seven members including me as an ex-officio member and it was our unanimous opinion that a visit with you in the early part of 1961 might prove very helpful indeed. The Committee has instructed me to issue to you a most cordial invitation to meet with it.

The Committee assumed that you would be happy to answer questions about various matters which are of concern to its members and has requested that I ask whether your position with the National Council of Churches is such that your answers to these questions would be considered the official position of the Council.

Some of the things that concern members of the Committee are:

- (1) Whether the Council sends representatives to appear before, or addresses communications to, Congressional Committees to express the Council's view relative to governmental or secular affairs or proposed legislation, or, in any other way, directly or indirectly attempts to influence legislation;
- (2) Does the Council take any stand on right-to-work laws?
- (3) Does the Council take any stand on integration of the White and Colored races in schools, churches, or private business establishments?
- (4) Did the Fifth World Order Study Conference recommend recognition by the United States of Communist China, and, if so, why was this done?
- (5) What connection, if any, do Walter Russell Bowie, Henry J. Cadbury, George Dahl, Leroy Waterman, and Fleming James have with the National Council of Churches and what organizations other than those listed in the biographical

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APPENDIX
SECTION P

Correspondence Between Dr. Plumley, our Rector, and Dr. J. Quinter Miller, leading up to the Conference between the Vestry Committee and Dr. Miller, February 3, 1961:

BRITISH-AMERICAN PREACHERS EXCHANGE

475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Riverside 9-2200
General Secretary

September 12, 1960

The Rev. J. Lawrence Plumley
St. Mark's Episcopal Church
Shreveport, La.

Dear Dr. Plumley:

Although your letter of August 16 has been acknowledged in my absence, I wanted to add this personal word.

We regret exceedingly the circumstances which make your acceptance of our invitation inadvisable now. I, being a Southerner, and in light of my address in St. Mark's Church to the Council of Church Women of Shreveport, have some basis of understanding the causes of the antagonism with which you labor. Frankly, they are erroneous and I wish so much that I knew how to alleviate them. Wherever we can get through with the facts, these antagonisms seem to fade out. Would there be any way in which I could meet with your vestry or a group of representatives of St. Mark's Church where we could frankly deal with these questions? If so, I would do my best to fit into your schedule, perhaps some time in the early part of 1961, to try to achieve this kind of reconciliation.

I make this inquiry entirely irrespective of your inability to consider participating in our British-American Preachers Exchange. Perhaps if we could find a way to deal with this matter of alienation, we could at an appropriate time look to this other matter later. There is absolutely no ground on which to base the charges that communism has crept into the National Council of Churches. As one of its officers now for twenty-two years, I personally know whereof I speak. This I am sure you must sense. Perhaps you can help me find a way to help ameliorate these points of view with your own people.

With best wishes and God's blessings in your work, I am

Very sincerely yours,
(Rev.) J. Quinter Miller
Assistant General Secretary

JQM: by

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Discussions and amplifications on some of these Pronouncements are found in the Appendix.¹⁵

The NCCCA also has taken specific and controversial political positions on such federal legislative matters as immigration, permanent universal military training (which it opposed), and the loyalty oath in federal college scholarships.

In all instances, the NCCCA acts in controversial political matters on the general ground that a "moral problem" or "Christian question" is involved. That can be true of any factor in any phase of the life of any individual, community, organization or nation. There can be no disagreement that all Christians want Christian principles to prevail in the activities of everyone.

But, by what moral or constitutional right does the NCCCA, through action usually by only a minority of the members of its General Board, arbitrarily determine what IS the Christian position in political, legislative and governmental problems?

In the Pronouncements of its General Board, the NCCCA in effect says to its 34 constituent Communions and their 39,000,000 Protestant members: "This is the Christian side and you, as a Christian, should follow it."

Are Protestant Episcopalians, including those of the congregation of St. Mark's, less Christian for not agreeing with political Pronouncements of the NCCCA, and are those who agree more Christian?

There is no question of freedom of the pulpit or of the right—and sacred duty—of all Christians and Christian groups, whether church congregations, Communions or organizations such as the NCCCA, to seek Christian objectives in behalf of benefiting humanity. But it is not the function of any executive group in an organization of Protestant Communions to assume authority to determine which of several political approaches to such objectives are right and Christian, and which are not, or to resolve questions of controversial constitutional law in which points of dispute are not factors in furthering the Faith, Fellowship and Charity of Christianity.

SECTION TWO

THE CHARGE OF COMMUNISM WITHIN THE NCCCA

The Vestry Committee knows of no instance where any responsible person has accused the NCCCA of being Communist, a Communist Front, or of having any of its executive or administrative posts manned by a Communist. A check made in behalf of this Committee by a local newspaper¹⁶ shows that at no time has the NCCCA been listed as subversive

15. Appendix, Section 1, pages xiv-xvii.
16. The Shreveport Times.

or cited as a Communist Front by any of the four major governmental bodies which investigate such matters, these being: the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, the Attorney General's Office and the California House Un-American Activities Committee, which has conducted years of investigation into Communist activities, particularly in California.

But there is room for discussion of the extent to which activities or Pronouncements of the NCCCA or of high officials within it may have paralleled propaganda of the communists.

The NCCCA leader who has been attacked most strongly as furthering causes which the Communists wish furthered, whether wittingly or unwittingly, is Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg, immediate past President of the NCCCA. Since the controversy concerning Dr. Dahlberg is an area of criticism which could be extended to include many other prominent leaders, such as Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, who is mentioned elsewhere in this Report, the Vestry Committee thinks that it should be the subject of a separate report. However, since it has received a great deal of national publicity, many sincere Christians are concerned about the discredit which has been brought on the constituent Communions and the laity, whether wittingly or unwittingly. Therefore, we include a report of it, containing our opinions, in the Appendix as Section J, pages xvii through xxiii.

Some of the utterances and activities emanating from or promulgated by the NCCCA have closely paralleled those of the Communist conspiracy.

The following are examples:

1. The Cleveland Conference (See Section Three) urged the seating of Red China.
2. The Cleveland Conference urged abolition of universal military training; so do the communists.
3. The Cleveland Conference urged that we suspend atomic testing unilaterally if necessary. Nothing could please the communists more.
4. The Cleveland Conference urged abandonment of military alliances such as SEATO. The communists have long fought against our military alliances.
5. The NCCCA is bitterly opposed to the House Committee on Un-American Activities and has proposed what amounts to its dissolution, by offering alterations which would in effect destroy it. Mr. Hoover wrote on Page 194 of Masters of Deceit the following:

"A primary tactic of the Communist Party is to preserve the legal status of the Party. Thus, any organization which has the duty to investigate or expose communist activity is singled out for attack. For years the Party has campaigned against the House Committee on Un-American

now are at work in several other churches of the Diocese of Arizona investigating the National Council.

In 1958, a Resolution was introduced by a group of men before the Convention of the Diocese of South Carolina calling upon the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church to withdraw that Church from the National Council of Churches. This Resolution was defeated, but the Convention did pass a Resolution censoring the National Council for its political announcements.

In 1959, a Resolution was introduced by the Rev. Edward B. Guerry, Rector of St. John's Episcopal Church, Johns Island, Charleston, South Carolina, voicing disagreement with the findings of the National Council's World Order Study Report emanating from the Cleveland conference. This Resolution was passed. (Mr. Guerry was opposed to the 1959 Resolution for secession, but was a member of the committee which supported the 1959 Resolution which was passed and which censured National Council.) Mr. Guerry is the son of the noted Episcopal Bishop Guerry who was so instrumental in furthering the Episcopal University of the South in the early decades of this century. The Guerry family back through several generations has been noted for the quality and quantity of Episcopal clergymen it produced.

The Austin Statesman, Austin, Texas, Wednesday, April 5, 1961, at Page A-17, in an article titled "Lutheran Meeting Rejects NCC Ties", and subtitled "Denominations Get Convention Decision", by Associated Press, stated:

"The 38th convention of the Texas District of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod has passed a resolution asking the denomination to break off completely with the National Council of Churches.

The Resolution requests the church body 'to sever all connections or ties with the National Council of Churches and/or departments thereof' . . ."

The National Council's pamphlet, "The Truth," states that the largest Baptist American Convention church in the nation, at Wichita, Kansas, recently voted to withdraw its annual \$33,000 contribution to the Convention because it refused to withdraw from the National Council.

These are simply some activities that have come to the Vestry Committee's attention. None of those concerned can be considered as unintentional or intentional "handmaidens of Communist techniques," nor can criticism of the National Council from such sources be looked upon as uttered with other than the most sincere desire to further the teachings of Christ and to spread Christianity throughout the world. These are informed, intelligent, respected Christians - including Episcopalians - speaking. The pamphlet, "The Truth," in the haphazard manner in which it denounces critics of the National Council is another example of irresponsibility in the executive and administrative functions of the National Council itself.

APPENDIX
SECTION M-2

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
House of Representatives
Committee on Un-American Activities
Washington

March 23, 1961

Mr. Henry E. Linam
1401 Petroleum Tower
Shreveport, Louisiana
Dear Mr. Linam:

In response to your inquiry of March 15, 1961, the telegram which you quote in the body of your letter is correct. I later sent an individual letter to all of the signers of the initial telegram coming to my office, when I had not had a response to my invitation. Eventually I did receive answers from most of those individuals. However, there was no person who desired to testify before the Committee.

With very best regards, I am

Sincerely yours,
Francis E. Walter
Chairman

APPENDIX
SECTION N

The Very Rev. Frank L. Carruthers, Dean of St. Matthews (Episcopal) Cathedral at Dallas, Texas, preached a sermon on March 12, 1961, criticizing the National Council's political propaganda activities and calling on it to keep within the framework of Article II of its Constitution, which contains 10 sections of "Objectives" of the organization as adopted when it was founded in 1950. All of these deal with Christianity in its basic tenets of Faith and Fellowship and Charity, except Numbers 3 and 10 which continue and extend the work of the Federal Council and authorize participation in the World Council.

In January of this year, the Annual Parish Meeting of All Saints Episcopal Church at Phoenix, Arizona, adopted resolutions condemning the National Council for taking positions "on controversial political issues" and filed an official protest to the Diocesan Convention with the Rt. Rev. Arthur B. Kinsolving, Bishop of the Diocese of Arizona. Study committees

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Activities, the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee, and the Senate Investigating Committee."

6. The NCCCA has been very critical of the film "Operation Abolition", which exposes communist instigation of the student riots in San Francisco in 1960.
7. The Communists would undermine our morals; Mr. Hoover wrote on Page 195 of Masters of Deceit that "Morality is strictly a bourgeois device. To the communists everything that promotes the revolution is moral, legal and beautiful." The NCCCA published and distributed a reading list some of whose recommended books would certainly tend to undermine the public morals.
8. The NCCCA urges repeal of the McCarran Act (restriction of immigrants). The communists are anxious for this repeal also, so that they may be able to bring even more spies into this country.
9. The NCCCA urges that we should not allow Mexican migratory workers to continue to cross the border to work in California. (This appears to us, incidentally, to be in direct contrast to their stand in reference to the McCarran Act). This fight against the Mexican *braceros* is being led by the AFL-CIO (which donated \$200,000 to the NCCCA) and is receiving great assistance from the Mexican Communist Party. The results on the economy of North Mexico from the sudden unemployment of 400,000 workers would be disastrous and could well lead to another "Castro" revolution.

SECTION THREE
THE CLEVELAND CONFERENCE; LOBBYING

Many of the pronouncements and resolutions that concern us emanated from the Fifth World Order Study Conference held in Cleveland, November 18-21, 1958. The NCCCA, through the General Board, claims that the findings of the conference speak only for the conference and do not represent the views of the NCCCA, and that the NCCCA is not responsible for its actions or statements. This is hard to swallow; this is an example of where the NCCCA has been the Prime Mover in causing something to happen and then denying responsibility for the results.

The Study Conference was called by the General Board¹⁶ after the NCCCA's Department of International Affairs had worked the better part of a year preparing "work sheets" for it. The NCCCA published and widely distributed a report on the conference called *Christian Responsibility on a Changing Planet*. This report states that the Conference "was

16. *Appendix, Section B-2, page II.*

planned by the National Council of Churches with the understanding that it was to be followed with a nationwide educational effort.²⁷ It also furnished a Study Guide and a list of 14 background papers, both of which were selected before the Conference convened. Apparently they knew even before the Conference what the result would be, that they would approve it, and would help it to the fullest extent of the NCCCA.

In addition, a group of 100 from the NCCCA, headed by Dr. Dahlberg, then President of the NCCCA, called upon the President of the United States²⁸ and presented to him a study program for a nationwide program for peace, which study program grew out of the Fifth World Order Study Conference. We do not believe that they would have done this had they not approved the report in its entirety. (It is of interest to note that they did not inform the President at this meeting of all the recommendations made in the report.)²⁹

The NCCCA claims that only the official pronouncements and resolutions adopted by the General Board or the General Assembly speak for it. A complete list of official pronouncements by the Board from 1959 through 1959 will be found in the Appendix.³⁰ In addition, these are the recommendations of the Fifth World Order Study Conference, for which we insist the General Board must assume responsibility.*

1. That the United States recognize Red China and that Red China be admitted to the United Nations. Page 22.
2. That the United States suspend atomic tests, unilaterally if necessary, for a sufficient period of time to permit full exploration of the possibilities of arriving at a definitive international agreement. Page 32.
3. That the United States show a greater willingness to resolve disputes through the World Court. Page 36 and 31.
4. That a purely national concept of security is wrong from every point of view. Page 30.
5. That the concept of nuclear or preventive war is contrary to Christian principles. Page 34.
6. That the present struggle between the free world and communism cannot be properly viewed as a conflict between good and evil. Page 35.
7. That the United States abolish universal military training, Page 33. The General Board has made 2 pronouncements on Item No. 7. See 23.1 and 23.2 G.B., January 30, 1952 and March 3, 1955, respectively.

27. Appendix, Section B-3, pages ii-iii.

28. Appendix, Section B-5, page iii.

29. Appendix, Section C-6, page vii.

30. Appendix, Section E, pages xiii-xvi.

* Page numbers refer to Christian Responsibility on a Changing Planet.

APPENDIX SECTION M-1

March 15, 1961

The Honorable Francis Walter, Chairman
House Committee on Un-American Activities
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I am chairman of a committee appointed by the Vestry of St. Mark's Episcopal Church, Shreveport, Louisiana to investigate the National Council of Churches of Christ. I have read the following resolution of the First Baptist Church, San Francisco, California, that they resolve to withdraw from the State and City Councils of Churches:

"The National Council of Churches adopted a resolution last April, 1960, demanding that the Chairman of the H.C.U.A. retract his statements and apologize to the members of the N.C.C. they should have been willing to respond to his telegram, sent to each signatory, which said 'Do you desire the opportunity to appear before the Committee on Un-American Activities in order to question the accuracy of the material which came from committee files and which appears in the Air Force Manual? If you desire such opportunity, we can arrange a time convenient to yourself.'"

Francis Walter, Chairman
H.C.U.A.

From April, 1960, to this date there has been no reply to this invitation."

I have no reason whatever to doubt the authenticity of this statement, but it would be helpful to me if you can confirm the authenticity of this telegram and the fact that none of the individuals addressed have accepted your invitation.

With best wishes for your continued success in your most patriotic work, I remain

Sincerely yours,
H. E. Lham

HEL/fg

5. It has discouraged social and cultural contacts with our neighbors on this shrinking planet. It has discouraged U.S. students and scholars from studying in countries which we Americans desperately need to understand.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities has in these ways weakened America. At no time in history have we needed to be stronger. At no time have we needed to be wiser. Let us rid ourselves of this agent of weakness and of folly.

REV. BENJAMIN ANDERSON
DR. STRINGFELLOW BARR
DEAN JOHN C. BENNETT
JUDGE JOHN O. BIGELOW
DR. EUGENE CARSON BLAKE
BERNARDA BRYSON
JOHN M. COE
REV. RAY GIBBONS
JESSE W. GITT
JOHN HAMMOND
PROF. FOWLER HARPER
JAMES IMBRIE
PROF. ERICH KAHLER
ROBERT W. KENNY
BISHOP EDGAR L. LOVE
DR. JOHN A. MACKAY
DANIEL G. MARSHALL
MRS. DOROTHY MARSHALL

STEWART MEACHAM
PROF. ALEX MEIKLEJOHN
REV. A. J. MUSTIE
REV. CLAUD D. NELSON
DR. REINHOLD NEIBUHR
LEO PFEFFER
JUDGE JUSTINE W. POLIER
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
PROF. ARNOLD W. ROGOW
MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT
PROF. DONALD H. RIDDLE
BEN SHAHY
OTTO L. SPAEHR
PROF. GEORGE F. THOMAS
W. O. TIENIUS
PROF. PAUL TILLET
AUBREY WILLIAMS

.....Fill in Coupon, Clip and Mail.....

H. W. Imbrie, Secretary
P. O. Box 333
Lawrenceville, New Jersey

I agree with the above petition and want to do something to help abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee as a Standing Committee.

I enclose \$..... to aid in this program, and for further publication of your advertisement.

Please print or type:

NAME
ADDRESS
CITY State

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When the World Order Study Conference in Cleveland in 1955 recommended recognition of Red China by the United States and inclusion of it in the United Nations, the Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations conducted a poll of Protestant clergymen throughout the nation. A complete analysis of this Committee and of the results of the poll are contained in Appendix, Section K, pages xxiii and xxiv.

To present a more precise picture of the thinking of the professionals within the NCCCA who guided the thoughts of the Fifth World Order Study Conference, the Vestry Committee has examined the Study Guide for use with the Christian Responsibility on a Changing Planet together with some of the background papers which were published both before and after the conference.

One of these which the Vestry Committee studied is On Some Conflicts in Military Policy, by George W. Rathjens, Jr., a background paper for use in the Nationwide Program of Education and Action for Peace, June, 1959-June, 1960, The Department of International Affairs of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. On the flyleaf is this statement:

"This background paper has been especially reprinted for use in the Nationwide Program of Education and Action for Peace. The Program is sponsored by the Department of International Affairs of the National Council of Churches with the cooperation of member denominations and state and local councils of churches, from June 1959 to June 1960.

This paper was written by George W. Rathjens, Jr. originally, as a supplementary study paper for the use of delegates to the Fifth World Order Study Conference held in Cleveland, Ohio, in November, 1958. The Conference marked a major stage in developing the Nationwide Program for Peace."

(A third paragraph on the flyleaf constitutes a denial of responsibility in behalf of communion members, the Department and the NCCCA.) Among the many other views which the author expressed is this one which the Vestry Committee feels is especially noteworthy.

(From Page 5):

"Let us first consider the case of an all-out Soviet attack against us. There are those who believe that the survival or renaissance of the values we cherish will be greater if both the U.S. and the USSR are subjected to massive nuclear attack than if the latter remains unscathed. For them, retaliation to a Soviet attack against the United States would be logical. But there are others who would argue, and I am sure there are many who would agree, that the only predictable results of such a catastrophe would be enormous change—change so great that there might be little to choose from between the remnants of the two societies; and, in partic-

cular, that the values we cherish might have a better chance for survival if the other half of the world were unscathed. Now, it will be argued that this is the counsel of surrender, but it is not necessarily so." (Emphasis added)

The Vestry Committee considers it improper for the NCCCA to distribute educational material concerning matters so far afield from those of the Gospel; but it feels that it is even a greater mistake to lobby on behalf of these matters before agencies or legislative bodies of the federal government. For it does in fact so lobby, despite the fact that Dr. Miller at one point in his testimony states this: "In all of the debates about the function of this office (Washington) it is always understood and explicitly stated that this has no lobby purpose and has absolutely no relationship to a lobby approach." However, in another portion of his testimony he admits that it does carry out activities which can only be defined as lobbying.²¹

The NCCCA maintains a permanent Washington office²² which it is seeking to enlarge. It urges member denominations not to present their views to Washington independently, but through the NCCCA.

The range of subjects upon which lobbying has occurred is very wide.²³ In addition to the subjects mentioned in the Workbook, the NCCCA has officially opposed the right-to-work laws.

It is currently studying a document which it prepared called "The Ethical Aspects of Inflation and the Ethics and Economics of Defense Spending and Disarmament." It has a project under way on a church-wide program "on the role of the churches in resources uses and conservation of natural resources." These studies relate to the program of the NCCCA designed to influence government thinking and legislation.

SECTION FOUR

THE NCCCA AND THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE; "NAME-CALLING"

The NCCCA seems to take the position that any information obtained in any hearing of the House Un-American Activities Committee cannot be accepted. Dr. Miller used the phrase, "I surely wouldn't ever take that as authentic" when asked by the Vestry Committee concerning certain revelations in the House Committee's records concerning Communism. The attitude seems especially to be as placed before the Vestry Committee by Dr. Miller—that testimony before the House Committee by ex-Communists cannot be given credence in any way.

21. Appendix, Section C-1, page iii.
22. Appendix, Section D-3, page xii-iii.
23. Appendix, Section D-4, page xii.
* Thereof, page 135.

"The Nationalists on Formosa only serve to keep our Navy protecting it and our money going to feed those on Formosa."

"You can't keep a nation out of the U.N. simply because its government shot its way into power. After all our own country set the example for other countries by our revolution."

"I think that it is time for all countries to be represented in the U.N. regardless of the type of governments they might have." (Emphasis added)

L-2 The WASHINGTON POST, January 7, 1959, Page A-8 (Advertisement)

"The Un-American Activities Committee should be abolished, not reorganized and expanded."

Editorial "The Washington Post"

December 19, 1958

"We the undersigned, petition the 86th Congress to eliminate the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a Standing Committee. We believe that the U.S. Supreme Court has, in the United States vs. Watkins, made it clear that the Committee has habitually misused its mandate in unconstitutional ways for political purposes; that it has become an agency for repression; that it has usurped the functions of the executive and judicial branches of our government. We are confident that only a return to constitutional procedures can protect us against subversion without at the same time subverting the very liberties we seek to protect.

For two decades the Congress has allowed the Committee to function. For two decades the Committee has condemned individual Americans, has wrecked the lives of some, and has denied them the due process of law that English and American courts have tollsomenly evolved over many centuries. Now the nation is reaping the bitter harvest:

1. The Committee has perverted, and thereby imperiled, the proper and necessary powers of the Congress to conduct investigations.
2. The Committee has helped discourage free study and inquiry in working for peace while the world is threatened with destruction.
3. It has harassed Americans who work for racial equality and justice.
4. It has increased bitterness between racial and religious groups of our citizens, which in turn has imperiled our good relations with the people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

'After all, I cannot see the purpose of this committee in the first place because the Supreme Court of our country has ruled that it is not a crime to be a Communist.'

'So the demonstrations that went on in San Francisco were caused by the committee which had no business being there anyway.'

'They knew that since they had subpoenaed a young college boy who was a leader of one of the universities there, the other students would rally with him and create demonstrations.'

According to an FBI report on the San Francisco riots, called 'Communist Target - Youth', a known card-carrying Communist, who is an 18-year-old college sophomore and whose father is also a known Communist, were subpoenaed as witnesses. During the hearings, the student hurled a briefcase at one of the congressmen. Later both he and his father were ejected from the hearing room by police at the request of the committee chairman.

Hunter said: 'So they took advantage of a situation to make this movie.'

'The revolution against this committee by the students are typical of those by other students in other parts of the world. They are only searching for the truth.'

'The world doesn't know where it's going. We have got to prevent war or we are all sunk.'

'I think that the American people have enough sense and experience of freedom that they won't throw it away for atheistic principles.'

'Take Korea, China, Cuba and other places where students revolted against dictatorial principles.'

'The students in South Korea revolted against Rhee and kicked him out. The same occurred in Cuba and in China.'

'China, for example has a great record for peace. I cannot condone the invasion from the north during the Korean War but the Chinese people for the first time have a government that is working for the people.'

'I really would not consider China being Communist but rather a "state capitalist" nation.'

'I would describe our own system as "corporation capitalism" rather than free enterprise.'

'I believe that our government would be ahead if it got into the struggles and helped those revolutionary governments. By working with them we could guide them from the inside rather than by being at odds with them from the outside.'

'The National Council of Churches has asked for recognition of China in the United Nations. The NCCC feels that it is time to recognize the official government.'

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The Vestry Committee cannot judge the veracity of evidence by any witness before any governmental committee. But we do feel that there are two main sources of accurate information concerning activities of Communist cells, apparatus or agents in this country. One is the testimony of Communists who were part of such activities at one time and who have repented. The other is the testimony of FBI agents who were undercover agents in Communist cells for years. Some testimony from both sources has been referred to with disdain—as to veracity—by some officials of the NCCCA.⁵⁴

Individual members of the NCCCA — and some newspapers — have been active in movements to have the House Un-American Activities Committee abolished, for example, Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, past President of the NCCCA, was a signer of a petition to Congress published as a paid newspaper advertisement, making such a demand.⁵⁵

The General Board issued a pronouncement (14.1-1) on March 17, 1954, which would render it ineffective and further states:

III. A more basic threat has been a growing tendency on the part of our people and their representatives in government to suppose that it is within the competence of the state to determine what is and what is not American. The American way is to preserve freedom by encouraging diversity within the unity of the nation and by trusting truth to prevail over error in open discussion. The American way is to rely upon individuals to develop and express individual opinions. The American way is to depend upon the educational institutions to seek the truth and teach it without fear. The American way is to look to the churches in the richness of their diversity to bring to the nation light and discipline from God to maintain a responsible freedom.

The General Board thus questions the competency of the State to define the American way (the people and their elected representatives constitute the State), but they do not hesitate to arrogate to themselves the wisdom of defining the American way.

This attitude of belittling a constituted congressional investigating committee of nearly a quarter of a century of activity is, to this Vestry Committee, amazing. The House Committee was formed in May, 1938, during the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration as a special committee of the House. Shortly thereafter, it was made a permanent standing committee of the House and still is. During its more than 22 years of existence, it has heard literally millions of words of testimony from literally hundreds of witnesses. In addition, it has had for its information quantities of private reports of investigations by other governmental agencies. At times

54. Appendix, Section L-1, pages xxi-xxvi contains a script of remarks by the Executive Secretary of the Advisory Council on Churches, who was a delegate to the General Assembly meeting of December, 1950. State Councils work under the close guidance of the NCCCA and are tightly controlled by it.

55. Appendix, Section L-2, pages xxvii-xxviii.

it has been Democratic in the majority of its membership, at times Republican. It has had Republican and Democratic Chairmen. It has functioned under Republican and Democratic Speakers of the House — the Speaker having a powerful voice in naming the personnel of such committees.

Unquestionably, the Committee has made mistakes at times. Unquestionably, it has heard evidence at times that was false and it may at times have drawn erroneous conclusions from accurate evidence. Although questions might be raised as to testimony given before the House Committee by individuals, such records as its citation of publications and letter-heads listing certain persons as members of organizations are documentary. Furthermore, the testimony given by all witnesses is given under oath and the individuals are therefore subject to prosecution for perjury. It has been the subject of attack not only from "liberals" and various churchmen, such as Dr. Blake, Dean John C. Bennett, Bishop Edgar L. Love, Dr. John A. McKay, Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, but also from Communist Front organizations and other organizations whose activities parallel some activities of some communist organizations. It has been subject to frequent attack by the official Moscow Communist newspaper, Pravda. Several times national campaigns to bring about its dissolution have been organized, particularly during the past calendar year.

When last November's presidential election brought a "liberal" victory, the organized and seemingly well financed efforts to destroy the House Un-American Activities Committee were increased in intensity. But when a vote came in the House in the present session, only six members voted against the appropriation. The Chairman of the Committee, when he arose to speak in behalf of the appropriation, was given a long and standing ovation from virtually the entire House membership, Democratic and Republican.

A year ago, when the NCCCA entered vigorous protest to the Air Force against a Manual distributed to its members — dealing with Communist infiltration into the Churches — Chairman Walter of the House Un-American Activities Committee invited the top officials of the NCCCA to appear before their Committee in refutation of statements in the Manual which the Chairman of the House Committee stated were correct in their substance. The Chairman of the Vestry Committee is in receipt of a letter from the Chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee — in response to inquiry from the Vestry Committee Chairman²⁶ — stating that not one official of the NCCCA accepted this invitation. Yet, NCCCA officials have participated in attacks on the House Committee Chairman and on the House Committee as well as on the Manual. Our purpose in mentioning this is not to raise any issue as to the Manual itself, but simply to further display the attitude of the NCCCA.

The Vestry Committee recognizes that the mere fact that the beliefs of a person or an organization may be in line with some beliefs of Com-

getting their appropriations.'

'I don't think that Hoover (FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover) would approve if he knew all the facts concerning the demonstrations out in San Francisco and if he had seen the film itself.'

(Hoover has released a report to Attorney General William F. Rogers concerning the San Francisco riots in which he referred to it as the most successful Communist coup on the West Coast in the last 25 years.)

Hunter said that he based his opinion on information that he received at the annual National Council of Churches meeting in San Francisco last month and on his own observations of the House Committee for Un-American Activities and the FBI.

'After all,' Hunter said, 'the FBI is just a secret police network which infringes on the individual rights of man.'

'I think that by showing this film it would be a deliberate misuse of inaccurate information which is not fair to the students who were depicted in the movie as rioters.'

'Maybe they were demonstrating against something that was un-American.'

'If we deny persons their individual rights by using Communist tactics the objections and demonstrations will spread.'

'There hasn't been such a revolution in over 400 years, sweeping across the world, as young people try to achieve for themselves, rights, freedoms and individual dignities.'

Hunter expressed his views as follows:

'I don't think that communism is a threat in this country because the Communist Party is such a minor faction in America. I think it is insignificant as compared to our political system and I believe that the greatest bulwark against Communism is the Protestant Church.'

'Our greatest threat comes from fascism rather than communism, and I think a person should be free to discuss his own convictions no matter if they do conflict with the beliefs of others.'

'I feel that there should be many "Hyde Parks" in America such as the one in London, where there are 30 or so speaker's platforms where a man can air his feelings.'

'After all, those students were just voicing their opinions. They didn't steal anything or rob any stores, they were just exercising their rights.'

'The persons who were responsible for making this film apparently are unaware of the effect that it will have on other countries. I think it will create a disrespect for and ridicule the American Congress because I feel that it will be shown as a comedy.'

26. Appendix, Section M-4, page 222.

27. Appendix, Section M-1, page 221.

munity. Needless to say, these reports caused dismay among our allies in Asia who have valiantly withstood Communist pressures and aggression and who count on the people of our country to stand with them. Even more heartbreaking must be the effect on the millions of Chinese living under Communist slavery, many of them our fellow Protestants, when they read the reports of this Resolution in their communist-controlled press . . .

"We firmly believe that the (N.C.C. Study Group) action taken in Cleveland does not represent the thinking of the overwhelming majority of American Protestants, clergy and lay. We believe that it must be taken as merely the point of view of those delegates who voted for it. Further, we believe that this action is inconsistent not only with the standards of the United Nations, but also with the clear principles of morality and Christian faith.

"In passing this Resolution, not a word was mentioned about the relentless drive toward atheism conducted by the Communist masters of the Chinese Mainland; about the Peiping regime's continued programs which have slaughtered millions of the Chinese people; about Red China's torture and imprisonment of Protestants and other religious martyrs; about the continued imprisonment of young American servicemen; about its continued and open aggressive actions against its neighbors and our own country; and its defiance of the U.N.

"We believe it is important to set the record straight and to show the world where the American Protestant community stands. It is in this belief that we have conducted this sample poll of a cross-section of American Protestant clergymen."

APPENDIX SECTION L

L-1 From the Arkansas Democrat, Monday, December 26, 1960. By Bob Sallee, Democrat Staff Writer.

"Dr. Joseph B. Hunter of Little Rock, executive secretary of the Arkansas Council of Churches and a state delegate to the National Council of Churches, asserted yesterday that in his opinion the film 'Operation Abolition' is a complete distortion of the facts and a deliberate propaganda move by the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the FBI.

"I think that the FBI and the House Committee on Un-American Activities got together and subpoenaed a group of persons, hired a film company and then went out to San Francisco to make a propaganda movie in an effort to help the HCUA get their financial appropriations next month from Congress," Dr. Hunter declared.

Hunter continued, "Not very many people are in favor of this committee, you know, and they really don't have a very easy time of it

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munism or its leaders does not mean that the person or organization necessarily are communistic, any more than that having four legs makes an animal a horse.

But, persons who hold high public positions in, or are spokesmen for, an organization which professes itself in political and other propaganda as "representative of" or expressing "the current opinions" of 34 Communions of 39,000,000 American Protestants should take especial care that in their personal activities they are not bringing reflection upon these millions and are not furthering a Communist cause in a manner inimical to both Christianity and American freedom.

The NCCCA and some of its leading figures have resorted to "name calling" as their reply to and denunciation of what they consider "name calling" of the NCCCA by some of its critics. Hypocrisy and demagoguery in this way have crept into the NCCCA's own defense against various charges made against it.

In its publication, "The Truth", the NCCCA reprints a New York Times article of March 26, 1960.* In it J. Howard Pew, former President of the Sun Oil Company, head of the United Presbyterian Foundation, and Chairman of the General Board's 1951-1955 Lay Committee (which was disbanded by the General Board after the Committee sought failly to end or lessen the Board's political propaganda activities) is quoted as saying that men of wealth would "continue to withhold contributions to the corporate Church" until it stopped making Pronouncements on certain social and political issues.

Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, Past President of the NCCCA, was quoted as saying that "support for slanderous accusations against liberal churchmen" comes from groups "specifically including wealthy men of the far right" (politically) as if that nullified the importance or veracity of the criticism.

Does political thinking of those of the far right — or left, or any other direction — make them un-Christian?

Does possession of wealth keep a person from being a Christian? (Abolition of private property, of course, is one goal of Communism.)

Where would the cause of the NCCCA itself — and the work of most of its Communions — be but for persons of wealth in regard to the furthering of Christianity? This is, indeed, demagoguery — in the name of Christianity. The NCCCA itself lists 12 per cent of its annual income as coming from special gifts from corporations and others — presumably all of wealth. It is no secret that gifts running individually into several hundred thousand dollars have come to the NCCCA from organizations or individuals of wealth.

In this same pamphlet, "The Truth", the introduction — presented by the NCCCA itself — contains the following as its second paragraph:

* "The Truth" is available from the NCCCA, Department of Publications, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York.

"A handful of arch-critics and dissident groups who are devoting their lives to undermining the Protestant churches and their regularly constituted agencies, are unwittingly the handmaidens of Communist techniques."

The NCCCA thus turns to a weapon it denounces its critics for using — "Communist name-calling". Well along in this pamphlet, it is brought out that the document is aimed specifically at certain identified persons who have been persistent critics of the NCCCA, especially in connection with furthering some causes Communism wants furthered.

But a reader picking up "The Truth" and reading that paragraph at the very start easily might interpret it as inclusive of all who criticize the NCCCA. It is difficult to believe that deliberate subterfuge and deceit were not used in the writing of this NCCCA document.

Let us state very emphatically here that there is nothing communistic or of being "handmaidens of Communist techniques" in the many Protestant churches, ministers, and Church groups, including Protestant Episcopal, who have been criticizing the NCCCA sharply for several years, specifically on utterances and activities of its high officials and its General Board. That includes, of course, this Vestry Committee in its present report.

Some others who have criticized the NCCCA are the Very Rev. Frank L. Carruthers, Dean of St. Matthews (Episcopal) Cathedral at Dallas, Texas; The Rev. Paul DeWitt Urbano, Rector of All Saints Episcopal Church at Phoenix, Arizona; the Diocese of South Carolina; the Texas District of the Lutheran Church — Missouri Synod; and the largest Baptist American Convention church in the nation at Wichita, Kansas. Brief details of these criticisms are contained in Appendix, Section N, pages xxx and xxxi.

These are simply some activities that have come to the Vestry Committee's attention. None of those concerned can be considered as unintentional or intentional "handmaidens of Communist techniques," nor can criticism of the NCCCA from such sources be looked upon as uttered with other than the most sincere desire to further the teachings of Christ and to spread Christianity throughout the world. These are informed, intelligent, respected Christians — including Episcopalians — speaking. The pamphlet, "The Truth", in the haphazard manner in which its denounces critics of the NCCCA is another example of irresponsibility in the executive and administrative functions of the NCCCA itself.

SECTION FIVE

THE UNITED CHURCH WOMEN; THE LAY COMMITTEE

The NCCCA's political and other policies are the policies of all of its components — the General Departments, Divisions and the lesser groups

furthering of the cause of Christ is fully justified in description of this matter — and it applies not merely to an individual but to the National Council itself for failure to step actively into a situation reflecting on its constituent Communions and their 38,000,000 members.

APPENDIX

SECTION K

When the National Council World Order Study Conference in Cleveland in 1958 recommended recognition of Red China by the United States and inclusion of it in United Nations, the Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations conducted a poll of Protestant clergymen throughout the nation. This poll was directed by five nationally known Protestants. They were Rep. Walter H. Judd of Minnesota, nationally known as an authority on and former medical missionary to China; the Rev. Norman Vincent Peale, the Rev. Daniel A. Poling, Bishop Herbert Welch and Bishop Fred Pierce Carson.

More than 8,000 Protestant clergymen responded to this poll by mail. Of this total, 87 per cent opposed both admission of Red China to United Nations and recognition by the United States. Only 11 per cent were in favor. Two per cent favored recognition but opposed admission, or vice versa, or said they could not make up their minds.

The Committee of One Million was organized about nine years ago and is an organization of recognized standing throughout the nation. Honorary Chairman is the Honorable Warren R. Austin, former United States Senator from New Hampshire and first Permanent American Delegate to United Nations. The Steering Committee includes the extremely liberal Democratic Senator Paul H. Douglas of Illinois and the more conservative Charles Edison, former Governor of New Jersey. Other Steering Committee members are Joseph C. Crow, former American Ambassador to Japan; former Senator H. Alexander Smith, Rep. Judd, and Rep. Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania.

Membership in the Committee includes persons of every political complexion, Democrats and Republicans, and of many religious faiths. Numerous Republican liberal Senators and Representatives, as well as conservative Republican Senators and Representatives, along with numerous liberal Democratic Senators and Representatives as well as conservative Democratic Representatives and Senators, are active members.

In its own report on its poll (January 19, 1959, issued from the Committee's headquarters 17 Park Avenue, New York 16, New York), the Committee said in part:

"The press in this country and, in particular, abroad reported this (National Council of Churches World Order Study Group) Resolution widely as an indication of the sentiments of the American Protestant Com-

A similar inquiry from the same source to Fulton Lewis, Jr., the Washington columnist and radio commentator referred to by Dr. Dahlberg brought a telegraphic reply March 30, 1961, that Dr. Dahlberg never has requested equal air time to reply to whatever charges Mr. Lewis made -- we point out again that Dr. Dahlberg's statement quoted above is so vague that one would have to go back and dig up the Lewis text to know what the reply was meant to cover. The statement from Mr. Lewis, March 30, 1961, ended with this sentence:

"Last year while he (Dr. Dahlberg) was in town (Washington) I offered him equal time on my broadcast then but was not accepted."

At the time revelations from Congressional Investigating Committees, Senate as well as House, and newspapers were bringing into prominence the matters presented above, Dr. Dahlberg was President of the National Council of Churches and its 34 Communions with 39,000,000 Protestant members. He was, because of his Protestant religious prominence and the fact that an organization of 39,000,000 American Protestants was his sounding board, a figure whose words and activities were spread to all parts of the globe. The scope of his prominence was amplified by his journey at that time to American military forces in foreign lands to carry Christmas cheer from American Protestantism embracing 39,000,000 persons (Christmas, 1958).

The gravity and the implications in the allegations concerning Dr. Dahlberg which the Vestry Committee presents above reflected on all 34 Communions and all 39,000,000 Protestants embraced by the National Council of Churches. We feel that he held solemn responsibility to clarify, deny, or confirm the allegations made. He held that responsibility as a sacred duty to the Protestantism of which he supposedly was representative. Yet he made no public explanation or detailed denial that the Vestry Committee can find. The vague statement from him to the National Council and placed before the Vestry Committee by Dr. Miller specifies that it "is not for release to the public press" and is for those "who have made personal inquiries."

In other words, for any of the 39,000,000 Protestants not part of the inner clique of executive direction of the National Council to know what Dr. Dahlberg said, it is first necessary for that person to learn in some mysterious way that a statement was made and that it is on file with the National Council; and then to get it from the National Council. This despite the fact that "the Dahlberg case" has been used as a foundation for attack on the National Council from both responsible and perhaps irresponsible sources and is the wellhead from which has sprung much criticism that the National Council is "left-wing", or "soft on Communism" and has among its higher echelon of guiding executives some who further un-American propaganda without intent. Use of the word "irresponsibility" as describing courses of those trusted with high responsibility in united

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beneath them -- this including such General Departments as United Church Women and United Church Men.

The Constitution and the General Bylaws of the NCCCA specifically point out the complete authority of the NCCCA and its General Board.²⁸ Thus, as is natural, each of the 70 components of the NCCCA functions in general in a manner calculated to foster and support the purposes, objectives and policies of all other components and of the NCCCA as a whole. This is brought out here, (1) to emphasize the scope and thus the power of the NCCCA as a whole; (2) because at times the governing body of the NCCCA attempts to avoid responsibility for actions of some of its agencies; and (3) because of belief in some quarters, especially locally, that such a component as United Church Women is entirely separate from the NCCCA which it is not.

United Church Women has 12,000,000 members, a large Board of its own, 2,000 state or local Councils, and an annual budget of around \$780,000 a year, of which it gives about half to other agencies. This year it is giving \$300,000 of the offerings at its annual World Day of Prayer to NCCCA work in Africa and Alaska -- \$100,000 for each (official NCCCA news release No. 14 UCW 2/7/61).

While United Church Women may be best known for such projects as its World Day of Prayer, it is engaged constantly in furthering the political as well as social and religious causes and objectives of the NCCCA itself.

From Page 178 of the Workbook for the Fifth General Assembly, December 4-9, 1960:

"Church Women have untidely supported action to give meaning to their concerns. Testimony has been offered on the extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act and foreign aid. Statements have been entered on questions of immigration legislation, appropriations for UNICEF, and appropriations for the support of the UN Technical Assistance program. In order to finance economic growth, United Church Women has supported the establishment of the Development Loan Fund of the United States of America, and the Special Fund and the International Development Association of the United Nations. Resolutions have been adopted asking that the Connally Amendment be repealed . . ."

The foregoing indicates that the United Church Women is under the control of the professionals of the NCCCA. Apparently, they have not achieved the control to the same extent over the male laity, and in view of what happened to the Lay Committee, under Chairman J. Howard Pew, it is possible they will experience further difficulty.

28. Appendix, Section A-3, page 1.

One of the major concerns confronting this committee has been the fact that the NCCCA professionals have obviously been unable to tolerate a dissonant voice in the form of independent laity. When the NCCCA was formed in 1950, the Lay Committee was an integral part of the operation. The General Board disbanded it in 1955, its pleas and recommendations to the General Board never to be heard again. Its chairman, J. Howard Pew, presented an eloquent final report on the causes of this death. Dr. Miller would have us believe that the report was not the true statement of the majority of the Lay Committee.

In fact, Dr. Miller did everything in his power to discredit the Pew Report as reflecting the views of lay Protestants in general and of the majority of the Lay Committee in particular. See Appendix, Section T, pages xlv through xlvii.

However, the vote of the Lay Committee on the Lay Affirmation is clear and incontrovertible evidence that the vast majority of the members of the Lay Committee were in complete agreement with the sense of the Chairman's Final Report. This vote was:

115 members voted approval of the Lay Affirmation.

15 members refused approval.

11 members were away, with Secretaries reporting.

10 members abstained.

17 members were not heard from.

We have every reason to believe that the constituency of the Lay Committee was representative of the best minds and hearts that Protestant Laity, nation-wide, had to offer. Indeed, we cannot imagine the General Board accepting less than that.

We also believe that laymen generally share the views of that Committee as expressed in the Lay Affirmation. We ourselves share them and we believe that the National Council would not like to know or to have it known how widely these views are held.

The fact of the matter is that the Lay Committee was disbanded because it did not believe that the NCCCA should pronounce on the wide range of subjects which it covered, and suggested that before such proposed pronouncements were made, the Lay Committee should be consulted. This was unthinkable to the professionals in the NCCCA.²⁸ It is our opinion that the NCCCA felt it must do away with the Lay Committee so that it could profess unanimity of opinion, and so that the professionals could in fact dominate the NCCCA and all of its activities.

SECTION SIX THE READING LIST

In 1957 a pamphlet titled "The Negro American — A Reading List" was published by the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the

²⁸ Appendix, Section C-4, pages vi-vii.

above, the Vestry Committee has never heard from any source. The Text of this letter follows:

"To Whom It May Concern:

In reply to questions that have been raised in response to the Fulton Lewis attack on me as President of the National Council of Churches, I can conscientiously say that I have no Communist sympathies, have never had any connection with the Communist Party, and have never signed a petition which I knew to be sponsored by a Communist Front Group. Whenever I have suspected a petition to be by a Communist Front group — and like many other clergymen I have received dozens of them — I have rejected it. I would not knowingly lend my support to any group which was an agency of the Communist Party, since I am fully aware of the fact that Communism has as its ultimate aim the crushing of all our liberties.

I did sign some petitions during the war period when Russia and the United States were military allies and during the 30's when as Americans generally we were not so alert to subversive Communist activities as we are now. But I repeat, I have never signed a petition in behalf of a Communist Front organization when I knew it to be such.

"As for the Morton Sobell case, I interceded in that instance purely on the pastoral level. Mrs. Sobell came to my study, in tears for her children, and in a spirit of Christian compassion I wrote in behalf of a fair and just consideration of his case as I would write to the judge in behalf of an alcoholic or any other offender against the law whose wife came to me to make a plea for her husband.

"I trust that the above statement will clarify whatever questions may have arisen as a result of the Fulton Lewis article referred to.

/s/ Edwin T. Dahlberg
President, National Council
of Churches

"This statement is not for release to the public press but is made in answer to those who have made personal inquiries."

In reply to inquiries made in behalf of the Vestry Committee²⁹ March 29, 1961, the publication "Human Events" stated that Dr. Dahlberg never had denied to it the authenticity of the statement concerning the pacifist pledge as quoted above, never had requested a retraction, or taken any other step that it knew of in refutation.

²⁹ By the Shreveport Times

berg of Syracuse, N.Y. That these individuals actually traveled from the four corners of the continent to confer on this plan is doubtful."

Albert Einstein, the noted mathematician and scientist, was a self-professed Communist, and Thomas Mann was identified as a Communist supporter in various governmental committee investigations, including those by the California House Un-American Activities Committee.

In December, 1958, Dr. Dahlberg, as President of the National Council of Churches, made a Christmas trip to American foreign military bases to, as stated by the major American press associations at the time, carry Protestant greetings and blessings to American soldiers. He visited bases at Zaragoza, Spain; Reta, Fort Lyautey, Sidi Slimani, Nonseur, and Ben Gerro, all in the North African area. He travelled by commercial plane, with the U.S. Air Force arranging his reception at the bases. At that time, some American newspapers raised questions as to the propriety of a person of Dr. Dahlberg's past activities carrying Christmas greetings from American Protestantism to soldiers overseas, such publications including references to an organization known as the National Committee of the Church Peace Mission. The Washington publication, "Human Events" which is distributed chiefly to newspapers, businessmen and public officials, published an article which included the following paragraph:

"As a member of the National Committee of the Church Peace Mission Dahlberg helped secure signatures for a pacifist pledge which states, 'I hereby affirm (reaffirm) my refusal to make or use the weapons of war and my purpose to do my utmost to win other Christians to join in this stand and to bring the church of Christ throughout the world to break with war.'"

In other words, the purpose of this organization, which functioned before the start of World War II, was, in effect, to advocate a pledge by Americans not to bear arms in behalf of their country. The National Committee of the Church Peace Mission is not listed in any available sources as subversive or a Communist Front.

The only reply, that the Vestry Committee knows of, by Dr. Dahlberg to the allegations contained above is a statement in the files of the National Council of Churches which was placed before the Vestry Committee by Dr. Miller. It is addressed merely "To Whom It May Concern" and specifies that it is to be displayed only upon request — in other words, it was not a public statement issued for general public consumption. The text of this letter merely refutes allegations made by a national radio and newspaper commentator without specifying what the charges were, and denies that Dr. Dahlberg is a Communist — a charge which, as stated

NCCCA. It contains a Foreword by Alfred S. Kramer, who was then Associate Executive Director of the Department. It contains, in addition to the Foreword, an Introduction, a Reading Guide, a list of "Some Other Helpful Materials", a list of "Some Race Relations Organizations", an Index of Authors, Addresses of Publishers, and lists of books for Primary Children (pre-school and grades 1-3), Intermediates (grades 4-6), Juniors (grades 7-9), Seniors (grades 10-12), and Adults. In the introduction, one of the compilers of the list urges: "Read for enjoyment and information, remembering to note publication date. Read aloud to your children, or put the books where they will be picked up. Make recommendations to your children's teachers and to librarians. Share your copy of this list with friends. Urge church, PTA, and other organizations to circulate copies."

This reading list is indefensible — Dr. Miller admits the NCCCA is "embarrassed" about it — and we can find no excuse for its having been printed and circulated. Dr. Miller stated that it was prepared for "mature leaders,"³⁰ an obviously erroneous statement in view of the fact that there are specific lists for children.

The list is bad for two reasons. First, some of the books are of highly questionable moral background. For instance, Dr. Miller, in a letter to our Rector in December, 1959, "especially recommended to the Vestry Committee the book *Without Magnolias* by Bucklin Moon as being representative of the list in that it was trying to show the moral climate in which negroes live. (Dr. Miller did this because the NCCCA claims the list is now out of print and that there are no available copies; we have several in our files.) If this book is a recommended example, we wonder what the rest of the books must be like. *Vile language*³¹ is used in *Without Magnolias*. It depicts an act of adultery between a Negro woman and a white man in New York City, not only without an expression that this was immoral, but in such a manner that it was actually condoned; furthermore, the reader is led to feel sympathy for the participants, who experienced no remorse or qualms of conscience.

Another book, *Color Blind*, by Margaret Halsey, is written in acceptable language, but devotes all of Chapter 8, pages 89-120 inclusive, to the subject of "Sex, jealousy and the Negro," with discussion included on relative sex potentials of Negro and White males. Regardless of what Miss Halsey contends — and the Vestry Committee is not dealing with that point — why should such material be included in the recommendations of churches?

The question raised here is not one of Negro or White morals. But, why should a tremendous church organization recommend to its 34 Communities and their 39,000,000 Protestant members the use and distribution of a book couched in filthy and pornographic language? If the subject

30. Appendix, Section C-6, page vii.

31. Appendix, Section E, pages pref-xxvii. Correspondence between Dr. Flinn, our Rector, and Dr. J. Clinton Miller, leading up to the conference between the Vestry Committee and Dr. Miller, February 3, 1951.

32. Appendix, Section C-9, pages x-ii.

should be on the reading list, certainly there are books that discuss it in language of common decency.

The second basic fault we find in the Reading List is a strange affinity found between the Communist Conspiracy and some of the authors whose work is cited. Miss Halsey has been listed as a member or supporter of certain Communist Front organizations.³³ The author whose works are most numerous is Langston Hughes,* who was identified before a Congressional Investigative body as an active Communist. He is the author of a blasphemous poem³⁴ the very reading of which condemns him as not just atheistic but anti-God. He is a member or sponsor or signer for numerous communist fronts, or subversive committees and organizations.³⁵

Another author is Victor Perlo, whose book *The Negro in Southern Agriculture* — recommended on this list — was published by International Publishers, the Communist Party's major publishing firm in this country. The Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee describes him as "an open propagandist for Soviet World conspiracy."

Herbert Aptheker wrote the recommended *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States*. He stated before the Subversive Activities Control Board in 1952 that he joined the Communist Party in 1939, and that the Soviet Union and Red China were on the side of peace but that he believed the Government of the United States was the center of war danger in the world. For communist affiliations see the Appendix.³⁶

Black Reconstruction, by W.E.B. DuBois, was recommended. DuBois has long been actively associated with Communist organizations.³⁷ In Peking on the occasion of his 91st birthday, he was given a testimonial dinner by Vice Premier Chen Yi, at which he heaped praise upon Red China. For this occasion he, too, wrote a blasphemous poem, "I Sing to China."³⁸ You will do well to read it if you are to understand our charge that these authors are out of place for Christian thinking and education.

There are others. We cannot imagine why the NCCCA could have possibly allowed such people to have had their writings placed on a reading list recommended by the NCCCA. At first Dr. Miller could see no relevance between "a few phrases and a few poems" and the irresponsibility of the list. He did finally admit that they did indeed indicate the character of the authors, which we pointed out must pass on into any work the authors might write. He admitted that the list was a mistake, that recommending *Without Magnolias* specifically was a mistake,³⁹ and he

in their 1953 platforms "a plank calling for repeal of the McCarran Act." According to the *Daily Worker* of Oct. 24, 1952, P. 3, and the *Daily People's World*, Oct. 27, 1952, P. 6, Dr. Dahlberg signed an open letter of the organization asking the presidential candidates to declare their position on the McCarran Act. The *Daily Worker*, Nov. 3, 1953, P. 8, reported that he had signed a letter of the (Communist Front) organization urging President Eisenhower to support S 2585, a bill introduced by Senator Lehman as a substitute for the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act."

The McCarran Immigration Act was aimed at tightening immigration restrictions in a manner to lessen the chances for Communists and subversives to come into this country. There were other provisions in it which were subject to legitimate debate, pro and con, without any relation to Communism. This made it all the easier for the Communists to use general attack on the Act as a means of obtaining repeal of a federal statutory restriction which they wanted repealed. Here, again, we have an example of how the "innocent" and the sincere may be used in furthering Communist purposes. The McCarran Act was one of the most controversial pieces of federal legislation in many years. Division on it was not between the two major political Parties, but within each political Party and within such organizations as the American Bar Association.

When various free nations of the North Atlantic area were forming NATO in 1949, the Communists launched a terrific drive against the creation of such an organization, carrying it on until even after the organization was formed. The House Un-American Activities Committee information also included the following in connection with that Communist drive and Dr. Dahlberg, released for publication by the Committee on April 1, 1951:

"The aggressive and hostile policies of the Soviet Union since the end of World War II resulted in the signing of a defense treaty by 12 democratic nations, including the United States, known as the North Atlantic Defense Pact. The agreement was designated to provide the basis for effective collective action to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area if an armed attack should occur. The pact was signed April 14, 1949.

"The pact naturally met with bitter opposition from the Soviet Union."

"The proposal for a Conference Against the Atlantic Pact seems to have first blossomed forth publicly in the *Daily Worker* of May 11, 1949. It was ostensibly formulated by a committee of five individuals: Albert Einstein of Princeton; Thomas Mann of California; Emily Green Balch of Wellesley, Mass.; Bishop W.J. Walls of Chicago; and Rev. Edwin Dahl-

33. Appendix, Section Q-1, pages xxxvi-xxxvii.

* Source: *Hearings (HCUA)* of October 6, 1944, Vol. 17, pages 10, 556-7.

34. Appendix, Section C-7, pages viii.

35. Appendix, Section C-8, pages xxxvi-xxxviii.

* Source: Speech — Representative Donald Jackson, House of Representatives, April 20, 1950.

36. Appendix, Section Q-3, pages xxxviii-xxxix.

37. Appendix, Section C-4, pages xxxix.

38. Appendix, Section C-5, page x.

39. Appendix, Section C-9, pages x-xi.

"Rev. Edwin T. Dahlberg, First Baptist Church, Syracuse, N.Y.," was listed as a signer of an open letter addressed to the President of the United States, April 22, 1948, asking that he 'set aside the deportation order against Harry Benton Bridges . . .'. The open letter was attached to a press release of the Citizens' Victory Committee for Harry Bridges which is cited as a Communist Front organization."

This is a typical example of how a man of national religious prominence may be used by a Communist Front organization in furthering its work, although he may be in no way affiliated with a Communist organization. Note that there is no inference here that Dr. Dahlberg ever belonged to (or that he did not belong to) the Citizens' Victory Committee for Harry Bridges, or that he ever heard of it. But an open letter which he signed was released by that Committee with one of its own press releases, thus obviously and intentionally giving the impression that Dr. Dahlberg was a member of this Communist Front organization and that the letter was being distributed by the Committee with his approval. (This procedure is explicitly described by J. Edgar Hoover in Masters of Deceit.***)

The House Un-American Activities Committee information continued by citing sources which listed Dr. Dahlberg also as an initiator of the National Committee to repeal the McCarran Act. Since National Council officials decline to accept information provided by the House Un-American Activities Committee — as shown in another section of this report — it is interesting to note that the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act is listed as a Communist Front not only by the House Committee but by the Senate Judiciary Committee Sub Committee on Internal Security, the latter reference being found in Senate Document 117, "Handbook for Americans," page 91, published April 23, 1959 — just before Dr. Dahlberg was elected President of the National Council of Churches.

The sources given by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as listing Dr. Dahlberg as a member of the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act are presented in the following further quotation from the information supplied by that Committee concerning references in its files to Dr. Dahlberg, and are as follows:

"Daily Worker, Dec. 27, 1950, P. 3; letterheads dated Jan. 19, 1951, May 25, 1951, and an undated letterhead subsequent to April 23, 1953. The Daily Worker of Jan. 7, 1952, P. 3, reported that he signed an open letter of the organization to President Truman, urging repeal of the McCarran Act. It was reported in the Daily Worker of July 9, 1953, P. 6, that he signed an open letter to the platform committees of the Republican and Democratic Parties urging that they include

read a letter from the General Secretary of the NCCCA stating that he is very much embarrassed by the fact that the book list was issued and that he feels its issuance was very unwise and inappropriate."

At this point the Vestry Committee once more ran into the peculiar attitude of the NCCCA which intimates that they labor under the impression either that they are not responsible for the mistakes they themselves make, or else that if they ignore the bad things long enough they will disappear. For although Dr. Miller admitted the list was a mistake, actually, the NCCCA really expressed embarrassment, not regret. Indeed, Dr. Roy G. Ross in his letter (Appendix, Section R, pages xi, xii and xlii) says, and we quote:

"Along with this, I must say that I think that the greatest harm that may have come out of the issuing of the book list is the misuse of it by enemies of the Council who have distorted the nature of the list and who have misrepresented the purposes for which it was issued."

Thus, the General Secretary of the NCCCA — the highest administrative post held by a permanent employee of this organization of 39,000,000 Protestants — by-passes the wrong of the list itself, the distribution of it, the inclusion in it of filthy subject matter and vulgar discussion of such material, and finds the "greatest harm" to be merely the criticism it has brought. To the Vestry Committee the question of whether professionals or others in the NCCCA are criticized either justly or unjustly is entirely secondary in a matter of this kind. We wonder to what extent this attitude of indifference to the effect on others of an official action taken in the name of the NCCCA is reflected throughout the professional administration of the organization.

Respectfully submitted,

THE VESTRY COMMITTEE

The Rev. J. Lawrence Plumley, D. D., Rector
John M. Madison, Junior Warden
James A. Van Hook, Chancellor
H. E. Linam, Committee Chairman
Joseph L. Hargrove, Vestryman
Charlton H. Lyons, Jr., Vestryman
Charles T. McCord, Jr., Vestryman

NOTE: Mr. J. Pat Beaid, our Senior Warden, was nominated to this committee, but he is out of the country at the present time and has been for several months. Consequently, he has not had an opportunity to assist in the compilation of this Report.

** Show pastor of a church in St. Louis.

*** Appendix S, pages xlii-xliii.

in this Pronouncement calls for agricultural workers to be placed under workmen's and unemployment compensation laws, minimum wage laws, and unionized in a manner to bargain under the National Labor Relations Board; it urges formation of farm co-operatives — business organizations, not religious; the Pronouncement calls for "Christian stewardship" to "discipline the rights of ownership of agricultural resources"; it demands "publicly encouraged" — which presumably means governmental — action in conservation programs; it also calls for expanded programs of trade at home and abroad, economic aid, reciprocal lowering of tariffs, reduction of arbitrary restrictions on international trade, development of technical and economic assistance to underdeveloped areas "promoted with vigor."

It approves action (presumably subsidies) to protect farmers against downward trend in income and says that this is "a necessary function of the federal government." Whether any or all of these recommendations are right or wrong is not an issue raised by the Vestry Committee in any way. Our point is simply that here, the National Council through its General Board seeks to settle issues which have divided people everywhere in all parts of the nation for years, and to do so under the pretense that Christianity demands this political legislative action by Congress.

PRONOUNCEMENT 3.1-1, December 5, 1957, International Aid and Trade. Here the National Council of Churches calls for support of the principles of reciprocal trade agreements, and specifically calls for extension for five years of the Reciprocal Trade Act then expiring, such extension to be "without weakening amendments." (Obviously what one person considers a "weakening" amendment might be considered by another person as a very essential amendment.) It also approves trade agreements as planned in the proposed federal Organization for Trade Cooperation, strengthening and extension of the reciprocal trade system and other steps such as federal assistance in long term capital loans to other nations to establish "their place" in the world market. Foreign technical and economic aid also "are backed. The Pronouncement recognizes that some of its recommendations might have "certain local adverse effects." The federal government, it says, should approve special programs of assistance in this field — in other words to offset American economic harm created by trying to bolster economy around the world. The National Council's recommendations as a whole in this Pronouncement affect directly or indirectly some 300,000 American manufacturing establishments, and some millions of families dependent on payrolls of these establishments for their livelihood.

APPENDIX

SECTION J

The House Un-American Activities Committee has made public* the following information from its files concerning Dr. Dahlberg:

* This information from the House Un-American Activities Committee is available to anyone under § 5. It was made available to the Committee by the Supreme Court, which obtained it through request to the Committee by the Washington Bureau of the Times 2, December, 1958. There is also available the same identical information as provided to Senator John L. McClellan of Arkansas by the Committee in response to a request from one of his constituents.

APPENDIX SECTION I

PRONOUNCEMENT 25.3-1, June 2, 1950: An agenda of what the United States government should do as action for peace. Sixty-nine votes for, three against. This Pronouncement is three printed pages with six specific items of recommendations. In Item 5, the Pronouncement says that the American government should be ready to confer "at all levels" with all governments on peace issues, including disarmament and prohibition of nuclear tests, and that this includes negotiation with nations "not officially recognized by the United States." The phrase "all levels" necessarily includes Red China. This reference in an official Pronouncement of the General Board is of especial interest because of recommendations of the National Council's Cleveland Study Conference in 1958 for recognition by U.N. and the U.S. of Red China. The National Council sought to slip out of the furor thus created by contending that the General Board had not specifically endorsed the report of the Cleveland Study Conference. But in this 1960 Pronouncement the General Board itself takes at least some action on the principle of Red China recognition.

PRONOUNCEMENT 24.2-1, June 4, 1958: Protesting that there might be too much secrecy in the American government concerning control of armaments and the use of space — an extremely delicate subject in which secrecy might be paramount for national security. The Pronouncement recognized the security value of secrecy but continued:

"The risk of revealing secrets must be weighed boldly against the advantage of revealing truth."

PRONOUNCEMENT 21.2a, December 2, 1959: Covers ethics in industrial relations. It includes a paragraph specifying certain qualifications which labor unions should establish in connection with membership in their organizations. Passed with 73 favorable votes, 14 less than a majority. A majority of the Board was present, however, for 16 votes were cast against the Pronouncement, and there were 12 abstentions.

PRONOUNCEMENT 2.1-2, June 4, 1955, Agriculture: Ethical Goals for Agricultural Policy. Probably no subject has brought so much political argument and disagreement for the past quarter of a century as agriculture. Presumably as "representative of" 34 religious Communions and the 39,000,000 Protestants they embrace, the National Council of Churches

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APPENDIX SECTION A

A-1 Constitution of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America, PREAMBLE states:

"In the Providence of God, the time has come when it seems fitting more fully to manifest oneness in Jesus Christ as Divine Lord and Saviour by the creation of an inclusive co-operative agency of the Christian churches of the United States of America to continue and extend the following general agencies of the churches and to combine all their interests and functions:

Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

Foreign Missions Conference of North America

Home Missions Council of North America

International Council of Religious Education

Missionary Education Movement of the United States and

Canada

National Protestant Council on Higher Education

United Council of Church Women

United Stewardship Council"

A-2 Article II — Objects, No. 3 states:

"3. To continue and extend the work of the interdenominational agencies named in the Preamble of the Constitution, together with such additional objects and purposes as the churches through the representatives in the Council from time to time agree upon."

A-3 Article V — Functions of the Constitution states:

"The functions of the Council shall include the following:

1. The general oversight and coordination of the whole field of work of the Council and of its divisions and other units."

Article V, Section 8, of the General Bylaws states:

"8. . . . the Bylaws of the General Departments, and central Departments shall be subject to approval of the General Board. In case of questions whether Bylaws, Rules of Procedure and Standing Rules of Divisions and/or of any Unit are in harmony with the Constitution and General Bylaws of the Council, the General Board shall have responsibility for determining such questions."

Article V, Section 11, of the Bylaws says:

"11. The General Board shall determine the procedure whereby policy statements of the Council or its several units may be released to the Office of Public Information . . ."

A-4 Article (XVI) XV — Quorum, of the General Bylaws states:

"1. For either regular or special meetings of the General Assembly, sixty representatives shall constitute a quorum, provided they in-

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clude members of a majority of the constituent communions.

2. For regular or special meetings of the General Board, twenty members shall constitute a quorum, provided that they include members of at least ten of the constituent communions."

A-5 Article VII - Authority - Constitution:

- "2. The Council shall have no authority or administrative control over the churches which constitute its membership. It shall have no authority to prescribe a common creed, or form of church government, or form of worship, or to limit the autonomy of the churches co-operating in it.

APPENDIX

SECTION B

- B-1 Christian Responsibility on a Changing Planet, Report of the Fifth World Order Study Conference, Cleveland, Ohio, November 18-21, 1955:

At Page 55:

"The principle of universality of membership, as urged by the National Study Conference of 1945, seems to us a sound principle: that all nations willing to accept the obligations of the Charter be admitted." (Emphasis added)

At Page 59:

"The section on 'Political Bases of a Just and Durable Peace' of the 1948 National Study Conference (Delaware) advocated: 'That certain powers now exercised by national governments must . . . be delegated to international government, organized and acting in accordance with a world system of law.'" (Emphasis added)

- B-2 "This is the report of the Fifth World Order Study Conference, Cleveland, Ohio, November 18-21, 1955, convened by The Department of International Affairs, The Honorable Ernest A. Gross, Chairman, Kenneth L. Maxwell, Executive Director, Darrell Randall, Associate Executive Director, The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York."

- B-3 The last paragraph of Page 13 reads as follows:

"The Fifth World Order Study Conference was planned by the National Council of Churches with the understanding that it was to be followed with a nationwide educational effort. This was to include special emphasis in denominational and ecumenical conferences on Christian responsibility in international affairs, leadership training programs in every possible state and local council of churches; and education and action programs in every

Human Rights

- 17.1 Approval of Article 13 of the Draft International Covenant of Human Rights CB-November 28, 1951
- 17.2 Religious and Civil Liberties in the United States of America GB-October 5, 1955
- 17.3 Freedom of Association GA-December 5, 1957

Immigration and Naturalization

- 18.1 United States Immigration and Naturalization Policy GB-March 21, 1952

Indian Affairs

- 19.1 Indian Affairs GB-March 3, 1955

Japan

- 20.1 The Treaty of Peace with Japan GB-November 28, 1951
- 20.2 Japanese War Criminals GB-June 6, 1956

Labor and Management

- 21.1 The Moral Crisis in the Labor Union Movement and in Labor-Management Practices GA-December 5, 1957

Migratory Farm Laborers

- 22.1 The Concern of the Churches for Migratory Farm Laborers CB-September 19, 1951

Military Training, Universal

- 23.1 Universal Military Training GB-January 30, 1952
- 23.2 Permanent Universal Military Training GB-March 3, 1955

Outer Space

- 24.1 Some Hopes and Concerns of the Church in the Nuclear-Space Age GA-December 5, 1957
- 24.2 The Churches' Concern in Policies Related to the Control of Armaments and of the Use of Space CB-June 4, 1958

Peace

- 25.1 Statement on the International Situation GB-January 17, 1951

Racial Discrimination

- 26.1 The Churches and Segregation GB-June 11, 1952
- 26.2 A Guiding Principle for Meetings and Conventions GB-March 11, 1953
- 26.3 The Churches and Segregation GA-December 5, 1957

Social Security, Clergymen and

- 27.1 Clergymen and Social Security GB-May 19, 1953

Unemployment

- 28.1 Christian Concern About Unemployment GB-June 4, 1958

Agricultural Policy	
2.1 Ethical Goals for Agricultural Policy	GB-June 4, 1958
Aid and Trade, International	
3.1 International Aid and Trade	GA-December 5, 1957
Alcohol	
4.1 The Churches and Alcohol	GB-February 26, 1958
Armaments, International Regulation and Reduction of	
5.1 International Regulation and Reduction of Armaments	GB-November 28, 1951
Assistance, Public	
6.1 The Churches' Concern for Public Assistance	GB-June 4, 1956
Assistance, Technical	
7.1 The Churches and Technical Assistance	GB-May 16, 1951
7.2 Technical Assistance	GB-May 18, 1954
Broadcasting, Religious	
8.1 Advisory Policy Statement on Religious Broadcasting	GB-June 6, 1956
Christian Life and Work, Task of the National Council in	
9.1 The National Council of Churches Views its Task in Christian Life and Work	GB-May 16, 1951
Collective Bargaining	
10.1 Basic Principles Relating to Collective Bargaining	GB-February 27, 1958
Communism	
11.1 Loyalty of Lay and Clerical Leaders	GB-May 19, 1953
Economic Life	
12.1 Christian Principles and Assumptions for Economic Life	GB-September 15, 1954
Education	
13.1 Church State Issues in Religion and Public Education	GB-May 20, 1953
13.2 Federal Aid to Education	GB-May 18, 1954
13.3 Oath in National Defense Education Act of 1953-	GB-February 26, 1959
Freedom, Maintenance of American	
14.1 Investigative Procedures in the Congress of the United States	GB-March 17, 1954
14.2 The Hartford Appeal	GB-February 25, 1959
Gambling and Public Morals	
15.1 Gambling and Public Morals	GB-March 28, 1951
Housing	
16.1 The Churches' Concern for Housing	GB-November 18, 1953

possible local church across the country." (Emphasis added)

B-4 At pages 100 and 101 Transcript of the Conference, February 3, 1961, at St. Mark's Episcopal Church, Vestry Committee and Dr. J. Quinten Miller, Assistant General Secretary for Field Operations, NOCCA:

Dr. Miller: "I think I would like to report here, and I think this is relevant, one experience which I shared in. When President Eisenhower had returned from Berlin and London and Paris just prior to Khrushchev's visit and their private conference 100 representatives of our 34 member denominations under the leadership of our President, President Dahlberg, went to Washington and had an hour's conversation with President Eisenhower. We presented him with a study program for a nationwide program for peace, which grew out of the World Order Study Conference and dealt with most of the areas of concern that the Cleveland World Order Study Conference had dealt with, as an effort to recommend real study of the same issues all over America. (Emphasis added)

APPENDIX SECTION C

C-1 Transcript of Proceedings of Conference with Dr. Miller: Pages 93-94:

Q. Mr. Madison: "If they brought up to our vestry here the question of whether or not we should endorse or oppose the right-to-work law I feel that by polling our vestry we would throw that thing completely out the window. We would say that is not the function of our church; that there is a division of opinion among our members and that it would split our church wide open if we took a stand one way or the other; that we didn't build our church to pass on matters like that but strictly for worship matters . . . What I want to know . . . is . . . under what authority and why should some National Council purporting to represent this group take action in issues in that kind of a situation?"

A. Dr. Miller: "We are at the heart of our difficulty in that question, sir, and with all sincerity may I try to reply?"
Mr. Madison: "My question was sincerely put, sir."

A. Dr. Miller: "I know that, yes, sir, None of the issues we have been considering . . . appear until they have been studied by a responsible group of people often for years . . . If you will apply it to St. Mark's Church in which you have a group of lay people studying a given social issue . . . and they become so concerned about that issue that they bring it to the attention of St. Mark's Church because they believe in

conscience that the Christian Gospel is here involved in a weakness in the practice or the system that ought to be corrected. Now, I regard that as a basic fundamental responsibility of the church as is the official judgment of the representatives of the churches in the National Council. Similarly this church is a part of the Protestant Episcopal Church which is a part of the National Council of Churches. This church already is responsibly involved in the National Council of Churches by virtue of that relationship. What we are here trying to do is to both explain and interpret and ask for criticism on the part of your church in order that this agency that the churches have established may be the more authentic."

Pages 80-81

Mr. Van Hook: "I understand then what you are saying is that although you don't deal with any particular bill that is pending you deal in principles and the appearances there are to influence legislation in favor of the principles that you favor or to oppose the principles that you oppose, is that correct?"

A. "Not quite, sir."

Q. "Would you explain it?"

A. "As I understand our purpose it is to focus attention on the part of those who legislate on what are considered to be the Christian principles involved in each issue."

Mr. Linam: "As interpreted by the National Council of Churches?"

A. "As interpreted by the representatives of the churches through the National Council of Churches."

Mr. Van Hook: "Maybe I am dumb but that means to me when your representatives go before that body you are attempting to influence them to pass legislation."

A. "That is correct, with the Christian principles which the churches here are enacting."

C-2 Transcript of Proceedings of Conference with Dr. Miller, Page 100:

A. Dr. Miller: "... There is hardly a day passes but when some influential representative of government will telephone 'X' person and say, 'What does Protestantism think about X or Y or Z?' Very frequently he has talked with the Roman Church. It is very easy for him to ascertain through the authoritarian church what the authoritarian church thinks. There isn't anybody who can answer what he wants answered in this inquiry for Protestantism. That does not excuse Protestantism from trying to find a way to democratically express as near as it can what may be the Christian conclusion on a given issue for the guidance of this committee and this X, Y or Z officer or cabinet member. The procedure which we have been describing is the responsible and up to now the best known application to this problem we know how to make, and it is in the search for that kind of help that these functions of the National Council are engaged in."

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APPENDIX

SECTION E

Refer to pages viii and ix for facsimile of National Council's organization chart and General Board make-up as indicated by work book of General Assembly.

APPENDIX

SECTION F

From "The Truth" prepared by the NCC, the following statement appears: "To serve these noble and thoroughly democratic and American ends, the National Council conducts itself as the cooperative medium through which 33 Protestant and Orthodox communions in the United States focus the light of the Christian Faith on all phases of American life; and American concern."

APPENDIX

SECTION G

Office of Information
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, New York
Riverside 9-2200, ext. 2254

NEWS

22GA 3/14/61

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, Mar. 14, 1961—The National Council of Churches today released the full text of an official policy statement on the question of Federal aid to education. Issued as a pronouncement adopted by the Council's General Board, representative of the 34 Protestant and Eastern Orthodox communions in the Council, the statement endorses public funds for public schools, while cautioning against the further use of tax money for elementary and secondary private or parochial schools.

The full text is attached.

(Emphasis added)

(The Pronouncement referred to in the above news release is Pronouncement No. GB-13-4-1.)

APPENDIX

SECTION H

TABLE OF CONTENTS
through February, 1959

Africa, American Christian Responsibility Toward

1.1 American Christian Responsibility Toward Africa

GB-June 6, 1956

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Charter. To serve the NCC and its member churches in the following ways:

1. By giving prompt and authoritative notice regarding pending legislation and governmental directives and other developments in the national capital affecting the functioning of the churches and their agencies; and by securing official interpretations of legislative and administrative acts when required by the NCC.
2. By indicating proper channels for contacts in Washington and furnishing facilities for effecting such contacts when desired by the various units of the National Council or by the member churches. The Washington office as such is not to engage in efforts to influence legislation.
3. By rendering such services as is possible to the various divisions and other units of the National Council and its member churches, and co-ordinating all activities in relation to governmental agencies carried on by representatives of the NCC in Washington.

"Answering specific questions about developments in particular fields of legislation, or setting up dates for interviews, or discovering the dates for various hearings and making the necessary reservations of time for appearances; these are among the constant services that claim the time and energy of a very small staff in a very large and important area of Christian concern." (Emphasis added)

"It is imperative that denominational activities in Washington be increasingly coordinated under the leadership of the Washington Office of the NCC."

D-4 From Page 132 of the Workbook we read the following:

"Increasingly in this triennium the Department, as authorized by the General Board, has had opportunity to present the concerns and policies of the churches for consideration of the Congress of the USA in support of the principles of: minimum wage extension, federal aid to economically depressed areas, particularly in rural communities, eventual termination and interim improvement of the program of importation of Mexican farm workers, and further protection of child workers in agriculture."

D-5 Workbook

General Board - 1957 - 1960

The National Baptist Convention of the U.S.A., Inc.

Cayle, James E.
528 S. Rampart Street
New Orleans, Louisiana
Jemison, Rev. T. J.
915 Spain Street
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

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C-3 Transcript of Proceedings of Conference with Dr. Miller: At Page 18

Q. Mr. Linam: "Practically every release I have seen mentions anywhere from Thirty-eight to Forty Million."

A. Dr. Miller: "I wish you would tell us how to get rid of that."

Q. Mr. Linam: "Do you know of any instance where the Board of the National Council of Churches has ever refuted that sort of reporting?"

A. Dr. Miller: "We do not regard that as our responsibility, sir, but we do not so say in the releases we make available to the press, and I would be glad to quote this particular release if it would help as to what the National Council actually said about Cuba. I have it right here. Would that help?"

Mr. McCord: "I would like to hear it -"

Q. Mr. Linam: "I would like to ask you this question. Why do you think it is not your responsibility to repudiate this sort of reporting, when practically every release I have ever seen says Thirty-eight or Forty Million people. I don't recall one release that hasn't mentioned Thirty-Eight or Forty Million people."

A. Dr. Miller: "We believe in a free press, sir."

Q. Mr. Linam: "Well, you don't care what they say about you then?"

A. Dr. Miller: "Oh, yes, sir, we do -"

Q. Mr. Linam: "You mean anything we might put in the press here about you or about our opinion of you would not be repudiated? You won't repudiate it?"

A. Dr. Miller: "No sir, you have a perfect right to say anything you wish to say about me."

Q. Mr. Linam: "Of course, I don't agree with that. I would refute anything you say about us that I don't like."

A. Dr. Miller: "May I say that one of the things that I have learned over these years - this is my thirty-ninth year in this work - is to keep your mouth shut."

Q. Mr. Madison: "You don't believe in the right of people to know the truth?"

A. Dr. Miller: "I do my best, sir."

Q. Mr. Linam: "Do you think it is an unreasonable assumption on our part to assume that this is all planned this way?"

A. Dr. Miller: "Completely, sir, I could not be more sincere about anything."

Q. Mr. Linam: "Well, I am just talking about an assumption. After all I am just reading the papers."

A. Dr. Miller: "I know you do, yes, sir."

Q. Mr. Van Hook: "You, of course know who handles your press releases and publicity releases?"

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A. Dr. Miller: "Yes, sir, I do, and I also know that the papers still garble what we release to them. We can't control that, as you men know."

C-4 The following dialog appears on Pages 33 and 34 of the Transcript:

A. Dr. Miller: "And this was the issue. There was an apparent desire on the part of the most vocal members of the lay committee that the lay committee should receive first before it was brought to the General Board all of the script that dealt with controversial issues that would eventuate in pronouncements or policies. This issue was debated on the floor in the most Christian way of any of our debates. I think you can see the drama of it. The total desire of the Council was to enlist greater lay participation, and the issue which was presented looked like an impossible issue, that of abridging the representative principle by insisting on such decisions first through the lay committee and a possible stoppage of further consideration, and adherence to the representative principle would not permit that, and other laymen in the General Board were the vocal leaders against what the lay committee asked or claimed, and I want now to be permitted to use that word, claimed, because the lay committee never received that report and discussed it. That is the Chairman's report, and--"

Q. Mr. McCord: "That's right."

A. Dr. Miller: "Now, the man who really led the conclusive debate in the General Board has been elected President of the NCC, Mr. J. Irwin Miller, of Columbus, Indiana, one of the greatest Christian laymen I think we know anywhere. Mr. Miller in the debate made it clear that in such issues the decision would have to be made by the voting representatives elected by the Churches and that he could never consent to a detour of a particular issue and a possibility of having it stopped by a portion of the constituency but that it would have to be decided by the responsible representatives that were elected by the Churches to make such decisions."

Again on Page 60 the following dialog is encountered:

Q. Dr. Humley: "Away back in the beginning I think what you said, Dr. Miller, in regard to this Few report, is that the lay committee wanted all issues to come before the General Assembly to go into its hands first and then . . ."

A. Dr. Miller: "Before it went to the Board."

Q. Dr. Humley: "And then it could stop it?"

A. Dr. Miller: "Or if it got to the Board the Board should not act before it had been referred to the lay committee for its judgment thereof."

Mr. Linsam: I don't see anything wrong with that. That gives the lay committee a voice."

Cultural Relations could have found some other author to portray this realistic moral climate?"

A. Dr. Miller: "Yes, sir."

Q. Mr. Linsam: "And instead of saying 'mother frigging,' to use some derivative of the word incest, and instead of using the word 'frigging' they could use copulation, which wouldn't be quite as offensive?"

A. Dr. Miller: "I think we must say this was a serious mistake that was made. I believe all of us make some."

APPENDIX

SECTION D

D-1 The following is found on Page 77 of the Workbook for the Fifth General Assembly:

"During the triennium, and more particularly in the last year, this Office has increasingly accented, for both religious and secular publics, the Council's role as a representative Protestant and Eastern Orthodox voice in areas of Christian social concern. General Board pronouncements and statements, such as the Hartford Appeal for maintenance of freedom, were given wide distribution in the nation's press."

D-2 From the Workbook, Page 77, we read that the Office of Information during a 12 month period has:

1. Researched, prepared and distributed upwards of one hundred news and feature stories about unit programs and their activities.
2. Arranged and assisted at numerous press interviews with program unit executives and leaders.
3. Staffed and handled press relations at numerous unit-sponsored conferences, meetings, and other public and semi-public functions.
4. Participated in planning the public relations aspect of many of these meetings, as well as special emphases and other activities of the units.
5. Arranged and handled virtually all publicity photography connected with unit programs, conferences and other activity.
6. Disseminated information about unit programs and activities in response to inquiries by special groups and individuals addressed to this office."

D-3 The NOCCA maintains a Washington office. From Page 59 of the Workbook we read as follows:

"III. The Statement of Purpose for the Washington Office, as adopted by the General Board in 1951 and revised in 1953, is still our basic

You ain't no good no more.
 They've pawned you
 Till you've done wore out.
 Good-by,
 Christ Jesus Lord God Jehovah,
 Beat it on away from here now.
 Make way for a new guy with no religion at all . . .
 A real guy named
 Marx Communist Lenin peasant Stalin Worker
 ME . . .
 I said, ME.
 Go ahead on now,
 You're gettin in the way of things, Lord,
 And please take Saint Gandhi with you when you go.
 And Saint Pope Pius,
 And Saint Aimee McPherson
 And big black Saint Becton
 Of the Consecrated Dime.
 And step on the gas, Christ!
 Move!
 Don't be slow about moving!
 The world is mine from now on . . .
 And nobody's gonna sell ME
 To a King, or a general.
 Or a millionaire

Good-By Christ, Good morning Revolution!

C-8 Excerpts from "I Sing to China" — by W. E. B. DuBois

"Down then, religion and church, temple and
 pagoda;
 Away myth and miracle, creed and dogma.
 Rejoice, honesty, God lives again.
 But not your God, Europe and America!
 Not that, not that;
 No Christ to kill, no faith to fan
 What China worships is a man.
 A workingman.
 Commune, communes, with the elect of
 Heaven,
 With Mother Earth, daughter of Sky and
 Sun;
 Born of democracy, fertilized by communism,
 Parents of revolution, makers of the world."

C-9 From Page 138 of the Transcript:

Mr. Linam: "Don't you think that the Department of Racial and

x

Mr. McCord: "Which it should have in the total program. That is the basis for my feeling toward the NCC."

A. Dr. Miller: "If you adopted that policy you would then remove the ultimate decision from the total representatives of the assembly appointed by the churches."

C-5 From pages 102 and 103 of the transcript.

Mr. Linam: "This hour's conference with the President, you were following this . . ." (Linam holding up pamphlet, "Christian Responsibility on a Changing Planet")

A. Dr. Miller: "This was the study discussion which was being offered for study by the churches, which we were telling him . . ."

Q. Mr. Linam: "Offered to the President?"

A. Dr. Miller: "Just a minute. Which we were telling him were being offered to the churches and we were describing this program to the President, yes, sir."

Q. Mr. Linam: "And he agreed with you?"

A. Dr. Miller: "He said, 'This is the most important step in this field you possibly could be taking.'"

Q. Mr. Linam: "I wonder if he agreed with the part in here where we were to have nuclear testing unilaterally if necessary."

A. Dr. Miller: "Those issues were not raised in this conversation."

Q. Mr. Linam: "He didn't know much about this, did he?"

A. Dr. Miller: "I was surprised to find that in his comments he knew a lot more about it than we had any idea he did. I don't know how he got that information."

C-6 From page 139 of the Transcript:

A. Dr. Miller: ". . . As to the purpose of this publication, it was the definite impression of the Director of the Department when he agreed to the process of preparation, that it was to be a comprehensive reading list for mature leaders in the segments of American society with respect to Negro life."

C-7 "Good-By Christ" — By Langston Hughes

Listen, Christ
 You did all right in your day, I reckon . . .
 But that day's gone now.
 They ghosted you up a swell story, too.
 Called it the Bible . . .
 But it's dead now.
 The Popes and the Preachers 've
 Made too much money from it.
 They've sold you to too many
 Kings, Generals, Robbers, and Killers . . .
 Even to the Tsar and the Cossacks,
 Even to Rockefeller's Church,
 Even to the Saturday Evening Post.

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[illegible]

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CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA

1407 Hill Avenue

Wheaton, Illinois

Committee needs no defense. Its members have served not only their own Episcopal faith, but all Protestants and all Christians. The names and reputations of the Committee members constitute a bulwark which in itself will withstand any assault that can be made.

Probably somewhere in the approximately 40,000 words of the Report, documentary evidence and transcript of the Miller hearing the St. Mark's Committee may

find some more important emphasis than the N.E.C.C. takes in controversial political issues.

It condemns a church organization formed to "manifest God's grace in Jesus Christ" for taking any side, especially in a manner implying that its position is the Christian position and in any way is "representative" of all Protestants. Communion with 30,000,000 members

except, for worlds there will spare fairly, will be pinned on the N.E.C.C. for not being the National Episcopal Church to withdraw from the N.E.C.C.

It is not the N.E.C.C. that is the problem. It is the N.E.C.C. that is the problem.

The N.E.C.C. has done this in the interest of Christianity and Christian unity, but it has done it in a manner that is not only not Christian, but also not Protestant.

The N.E.C.C. is a body of men and women, and it is a body of men and women who are not only not Christian, but also not Protestant.

The N.E.C.C. is a body of men and women, and it is a body of men and women who are not only not Christian, but also not Protestant.

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of volume of publicity in behalf of the cause of Christianity and the cause of the Christian Church, which is a cause of so great importance to the world as to be worth the "blessing" of the Christian Church.

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News and Views

Eternal Vigilance is Forever the Price of Freedom

Vol. 23, No. 10

Wheaton, Illinois

October 1960

THE REVOLT IS ON!

Sometimes we become weary of people asking: "What can we do?" But, patiently point out to them the obvious—that which they could have done all along but for many reasons and convenient excuses they did not do.

Here is what the General Board of one church has already done and others are following their example. They will not be misled by the smears of Senator Kennedy's religious advisor, who just recently resigned from the National Council of Churches in which body he held the office of a secretary in charge of "interpretation", that is, interpreting things as he decided they should be interpreted, whether true or false!

James W. Wine brought all kinds of trouble down on the heads of the National Council of Churches when he took it upon himself to battle the United States Air Force and the Defense Department. He is now on Kennedy's staff. And, what is he doing?—smearing some of the same Protestant clergymen who defended the Air Force and its training manual!

Wine's attack and the subsequent attacks of the National Council's hierarchy have backfired! If they had kept quiet, millions of American church people would never have known about the Congressional documentation available on how far the Communists and their influence have penetrated American religious institutions. Since that time, millions of Americans have asked questions and they are getting the answers, despite the desperate attempts of the paid publicists, officers, synophants, and local church hirelings to suppress the truth.

The rebellion of the people who pay the bills is on!

Now read what one church board has already done. This is a good beginning:

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, the General Board has accepted and adopted the report of the Special Study Committee wherein it was concluded that the National Council of Churches was a political action body and that various of the National Council's officers and leaders lend their time, talents and name to questionable groups and causes;

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED that Spring Branch Christian Church unite with other church groups so that the following objectives may be achieved;

(1) The filing of an official protest with our district, state and national conventions together with the National Council of Churches and their respective officers and leaders, of the political activities of the National Council of Churches.

(2) That this church work together with other church groups toward the end that the National Council will cease all political activities.

(3) That the leaders and officers of the National Council of Churches, who are now, or shall knowingly become, affiliated with an organization or cause, which, either the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice of the United States, Attorney General of the United States, Senate Internal Securities Committee or the Un-American Activities Committee, classify as "subversive" or "Communist-front" be relieved of their position.

(4) That such a plan of representation be worked out between the individual churches and the National Council that the individual church member will have a role and voice in what the National Council does and says, together with the election of all officers and leaders and that the Constitution and By-Laws of the National Council be amended to provide for same.

(5) That a standing committee be appointed by the Chairman of the new Board of this church to work toward the above objectives and that such a committee be given authority to correspond with and to contact other church groups including the distribution of the report of the Special Council Study Committee to accomplish these goals.

THE ABOVE RESOLUTION WAS UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL BOARD OF THE SPRING BRANCH CHRISTIAN CHURCH, DULY ASSEMBLED AT A SPECIAL MEETING ON JUNE 26, 1960.

BY THEIR FRUITS YE SHALL

KNOW THEM

A Report on the National Council of Churches

"And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

John 8:32

FOREWORD

To the General Board of Spring Branch Christian Church, Houston, Texas:

Your committee to study the various Councils of Churches was appointed pursuant to the following Motion properly presented, seconded and unanimously passed by the General Board of our Church duly assembled at its regular monthly meeting in March, 1960:

"In view of the active support of this Church to the National Council of Churches, the World Council of Churches, the Texas Council of Churches and the Houston Council of Churches and the duty of this board to keep the Congregation of this Church fully informed on all church matters; I move that a Committee of not more than five laymen be appointed by the Chairman of this Board to conduct a survey

and study of these Councils and to submit their report, both orally and in writing, to the Board as soon as possible, covering, but not limited to, information on:

- "(1) The formation of these respective Councils;
- "(2) Their purpose, program, leadership and governing principles;
- "(3) How a Church becomes a member; and
- "(4) The role and voice of each individual member church."

We have entered into our study and survey with prayerful interest and an open mind. We have studied and read volumes of factual data on the councils and have had access to three extensive libraries by outstanding Christian laymen containing literature on the various councils.

We have met together, studied together and discussed all phases of the Council's activities. We have discussed the Councils with numerous people, both laymen as ourselves and members of the clergy. We have been afforded the opportunity by local ministers to read books and materials which they had in their possession.

Three of the committee have met in private conference with the Head of the Department of Stewardship and Benevolence of the National Council.

We have studied the National Council's "1957 TRIENNIAL REPORT" policy statements and pronouncements made by the General Board and General Assembly of the National Council. "The Churches and the Air Force Manual Issue," compiled by the National Council has been read.

We have read and studied "The Chairman's Final Report to the National Lay Committee of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America" written by the Chairman, Mr. J. Howard Pew.

The report on the World Council, the Texas Council and the Houston Council of Churches, which recently changed its name to the Houston Association of Churches of Christ, will be given orally. Our report on the National Council will be given in writing as follows.

We have made every diligent effort to present the facts as we have found them, and our presentation of the National Council of Churches is completely documented from material read and studied. We have entered into this study in an effort to determine the truth and our Conclusions are based on the truth as we have found it.

Respectfully submitted,
Your Council Study Committee
June 12, 1960

"BY THEIR FRUITS YE SHALL KNOW THEM"

A Report on the National Council of Churches

FORMATION:

A group of clerical and lay delegates from major Protestant denominations met in Cleveland, Ohio, on Nov. 29, 1950, and formed the ecclesiastical organizations designated as the National Council of Churches. It is a corporation established for religious purposes "to continue and extend the following general agencies of the churches and to combine their interests and functions:

(Cleveland Constitution, 1950)

"Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America
"Foreign Missions Conference of North America
"Home Missions Council of North America
"International Council of Religious Education
"Missionary Education Movement of the US and Canada
"National Protestant Council on Higher Education
"United Council of Church Women
"United Stewardship Council."

Four additional agencies later decided to merge their interests in the National Council:

Church World Service, Inc.
Interseminary Committee
Protestant Film Commission
Protestant Radio Commission

"The National Council is the direct creation of the churches themselves. Its constitution was officially ratified by the highest authority of each of the thirty member denominations. The Council is directly responsible to the denominations as officially represented at the General Assembly.

"Other Churches which share the basic faith in Jesus Christ as Divine Lord and Savior may become members of the National Council under the provisions outlined in the Constitution."

Among other functions (Art. V of the Council's Constitution) the Council is charged as follows:

- "1. The general oversight and coordination of the whole field of work of the Council and its Divisions and other units.
- "2. All actions and utterances of the Council in representation of the cooperating churches.
- "3. Basic studies in fields of common interest to the churches.
- "4. The safeguarding for each Division of the fullest measure of autonomy . . .
- "5. General relations with the public and with governments, either directly or through one or more of the Divisions . . ."

The National Council, in its "Working Together" pamphlet states that its establishment was an outgrowth of common endeavor and an effort "to do together what could be done better unitedly than separately."

The Federal Council of Church's program was transferred to the National Council and such plan was acknowledged in the December, 1950, issue of the Federal Council *Bulletin*:

"All the work of the Federal Council will continue under the new auspices—it is expected that the program will be enlarged as the new organization gains increased support—other divisions in the National Council and the general administration of the Council will also draw upon the resources in both personnel and finance."

Many, if not the majority, of the active officers and leaders of the Federal Council became the same leaders, and, in some cases, the department heads for the National Council. The present President of the National Council, Edwin T. Dahlberg had been Chairman of the Department of Evangelism in the old Federal Council. G. Bromley Oxnam, President of the Federal Council in 1948, and long active in the affairs of the Council, became a member of the General Board. These are but two of the many leaders who transferred their activities to the newly constituted organization.

The Federal Council was officially formed in the latter part of 1908. Apparently growing out of efforts toward organic union, this is one of the earliest recorded steps of the ecumenical movement. For your information, ecumenical is defined as "pertaining to the entire inhabited world or belonging to the Christian church as a whole, or universal." Its synonyms are "world wide, liberal and tolerant." The application of the word may be taken from the hearing before the House Un-American Activities Committee on July 21, 1953, testimony of G. Bromley Oxnam, at page 3633:

"Protestant churches must continue the present brotherly and inspiring cooperation with the Eastern Orthodox Churches until such time as Protestantism is itself reunited. They may then consider union with Eastern Orthodoxy which it is prayerfully hoped may be consummated. When the full union of Protestantism and of Eastern Orthodoxy is accomplished and the Christians of the world belong to but two great churches, the leadership of that day may be Christian enough and creative enough to kneel before a common altar, beg forgiveness of the Christ for disunity and, sharing in the bread and wine of Holy Communion, rise in his Spirit to form the Holy Catholic Church to which all Christians may belong."

One of the steps leading up to the Federal Council was the formation of the National Federation of Churches in either 1900 or 1901. A leading proponent of the Federation was a Chicago pastor by the name of Harry F. Ward. Ward was one of the founders of the Federal Council and was at one time a professor in Union Theological Seminary in New York. Sworn testimony by former members of the Communist Party has placed him in the heart of the Communist apparatus in the United States. Manning Johnson, before the Un-American Activities Committee, referred to Ward as "The Red Dean of the Communist Party in the religious field."

Reading from the official publication of the Federal Council, "Furthering Christian Unity," we find the requirements for membership in the Federal Council:

"All churches which share the basic faith in Jesus Christ as Divine Lord and Savior, are eligible to membership—into the details of doctrine the Council does not enter, its function being practical rather than theoretical." (Emphasis added.)

Here, as followed later in the National Council, the question of whether or not the people in their respective churches wanted to join the Council was not submitted to them. Rather, it was a matter for the denominational leaders to take their particular denominations into membership with the Federal Council.

Your committee's study of the volumes of material on the Federal Council of Churches has indicated that they made studies, reports and releases on the following subjects:

- The League of Nations
- The World Court
- The Peace Pact
- The Pan-American Arbitration Treaty
- The Arms Embargo
- War Debts
- Naturalization
- The United States and Japanese relations
- Extraterritoriality in China
- The 1927 Navy Building Program

International relations between the United States and Mexico

- The 1928 Navy Building Program
- Increase in Armaments
- Compulsory Military Training in Colleges and Schools
- Appropriations for the Bureau of Indian Affairs
- The Mexican Oil and Land Controversy
- The Rural Cooperative Movement
- The Agricultural Credit Situation
- The Industrial Strife on the Western Maryland Railroad
- The Bituminous Coal Industry
- The Relations of Russia and the Western Democracies
- The Political Situation in India
- The Development of China's Industrial Cooperatives
- The Effect of the War on European Preaching
- Analyses of Significant Supreme Court Decisions
- Proposed Tax Measures
- An Interpretation of the Election Results
- Trends in American Education
- Disturbed Relationships in the Coal Fields of Colorado
- Rural Urban Conflict in the United States
- The Controversy in the Chicago Dairy District

A Study of Relations between the Silk Hose Mills and the American Federation of Full Fashioned Agriculture, Child Welfare, Church and Social Problems, Civil Liberty, Cooperative Movements, Cost of Living, Crime, Economics, Education, Ethics, Free Speech, Government and Politics Industrial Relations, Public Health, Internal Relations.

The activities of the Federal Council became so questionable that the highly reputable office of Naval Intelligence of the United States Navy Department, in a report which was read into the Congressional Record in September 10, 1935, starting on page 13503, stated as follows:

"Organizations which, while not openly advocating the force and violence principles of the Communists, give aid and comfort to the Communist movement and party. Among the strongest of these organizations is:

"*The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.* This is a large radical pacifist organization. It probably represents 20,000,000 Protestants in the United States. However, its leadership consists of a small radical group which dictates its policies. It is always extremely active in any matter against national defense."

It is interesting at this point to turn next to the final report of the National Lay Committee of the National Council of Churches, the existence of which was terminated by the Council, at the time of the Presidency of Eugene Carson Blake, and read:

"The members of the Lay Committee believe, and so stated, that the political adventures of the National Council in the fields of economic and political controversy would seriously hinder and not further Christian leadership in the pressing fields of evangelism, fellowship and education. It appears that the National Council could find no room for opposition to the philosophies and practices carried over from the old Federal Council." (Emphasis added.)

PURPOSE, PROGRAM, LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNING PRINCIPLES

From the "Working Together" booklet on how the National Council is governed:

"The governing body of the National Council is the General Assembly of 694 delegated representatives, 443 clergy and 251 laymen, all named directly or approved by the member communions. The Assembly, which meets every three years, constitutes a central board of inter-denominational strategy, developing a common mind, planning united policies, and the providing for concerted action.

"In the interim between assemblies, the supervisory body is a General Board of 256 members, 166 clergy and 90 laymen, all of whom directly represent the member communions or are approved by them. The General Board meets several times a year. It reports regularly to each of the denominations and is subject to their review. Thus, the Council is responsible at all times to the communions which established it as their agency for cooperation, depending wholly on the principal of voluntary cooperation through democratic representative processes. Through these two bodies—General Assembly and the General Board—which make all policy decisions affecting the life and work of the organization, the Council speaks as a united voice on public matters of concern to its constituent churches.

"In addition to the above, each of the Council's programs is directed by a committee which includes denominational executives carrying corresponding responsibilities within their denomination. Thus, in its specific programs, as well as in its broad policies, the Council is supervised and governed by nearly 5500 official representatives—approximately 2700 lay men and women and 2800 clergy—men—of the 34 communions that presently constitute it.

"Closely associated with the National Council are over 900 city, state and county councils, created by the churches of their own communities and responsible for programs of cooperation there. There are 2200 councils of churchwomen and 2,000 ministerial associations that provide further networks of local cooperation. All of these are autonomous but linked with the National Council in common aims, programs, concerns, and functions."

From the Council's Constitution, Art. X, Sections 1, 2 and 3, regarding its Divisions:

"The Council shall constitute four Divisions, the distinctions between which are broadly functional, as follows:

- "a) Division of Christian Education
- "b) Division of Christian Life and Work
- "c) Division of Foreign Missions
- "d) Division of Home Missions

"Each Division shall have the primary responsibility, subject to the provisions of Art. V. Section I of this Constitution, for developing the basic philosophy and the requisite programs within its assigned field, it being understood that there will be interdivisional cooperation and exchange ideas.

"Each Division may establish and maintain direct relations with the church boards and agencies corresponding to its field of operation, and with other organizations carrying closely related interests."

The National Council maintains a Washington office (Working Together Booklet) which:

"serves both member churches and Council units; gives prompt and authoritative notice regarding pending legislation, governmental directives, and other developments in the capital affecting the functioning of the churches and their agencies; secures official interpretations of legislative and administrative acts when required; indi-

cates channels for contacts in Washington and furnishes facilities for affecting them when desired (*the Office does not engage in efforts to influence legislation*); coordinates activities in relation to governmental agencies carried on by Council representatives in Washington. (Emphasis added)

The present officers serving from 1957 to 1961 are:

PRESIDENT: Rev. Edwin T. Dahlberg
(American Baptist Convention)

VICE PRESIDENTS AT LARGE:

Bishop of Elaia Athenagoras
(Greek Archdioceses of North & South America)

Mrs. Guy A. Benchoff
(United Church of Christ, Evangelical & Reformed)

Arthur Gardiner Coons
(United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.)

Francis S. Harmon (American Baptist Convention)

Charles C. Parlin (The Methodist Church)

Bishop B. Julian Smith
(Christian Methodist Episcopal Church)

Charles P. Taft (Protestant Episcopal Church)

Mrs. Theodore O. Wedel (Protestant Episcopal Church)

VICE PRESIDENTS FOR DIVISIONS:

Bishop Reuben H. Mueller—(Evangelical United Brethren) Christian Education

Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam—(The Methodist Church) Christian Life & Work

Rev. Virgil A. Sly—(Christian Churches) Foreign Missions

Rev. Willard M. Wickizer—(Christian Churches) Home Missions

TREASURER:

Charles E. Wilson
(American Baptist Convention)

ASSOCIATE TREASURER:

John H. Platt
(United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.)

RECORDING SECRETARY:

Rev. Norman J. Baugher
(Church of the Brethren)

GENERAL SECRETARY: Rev. Roy G. Ross

ASSOCIATE GENERAL SECRETARIES:

R. H. Edwin Espy
James W. Wine (Recently resigned)

There are numerous other officers and leaders who serve in official capacities as Departmental Heads, Committee Chairmen, etc.

The Council states as its objectives in Article II of its Constitution:

- "1. To manifest the common spirit and purpose of the cooperating churches in carrying out their mission in the world.
- "2. To do for the churches such cooperative work as they authorize the Council to carry on in their behalf.

"3. To continue and extend the work of the inter-denominational agencies named in the Preamble of the Constitution, together with such additional objects and purposes as the churches through their representatives in the Council from time to time agree upon.

"4. To encourage study of the Bible and to assist in the spread of the Christian religion.

"5. To encourage fellowship and mutual counsel concerning the spiritual life and religious activities of the churches.

"6. To foster and encourage cooperation among the churches for the purposes set forth in this Constitution.

"7. To promote cooperation among local churches and to further in communities, states or larger territorial units the development of councils of churches and councils of church women, in agreement with the Preamble of this Constitution.

"8. To establish consultative relationship with national councils of churches in other countries of North America.

"9. To maintain fellowship and cooperation with similar councils in other areas of the world.

"10. To maintain fellowship and cooperation with the World Council of Churches and with other international Christian organizations."

In order to present a complete picture of the activities of the National Council, we turn to literature published and released by their Office of Information for their response to the question: "What does the National Council Do?"

"First, it works constantly to make Christians more aware of the central unity of their faith. It aids Christians to direct their faith into channels of action . . .

"Through its *Division of Christian Education*, the Council gives guidance to the United Christian Youth Movement. It provides eight interdenominational summer conferences through the Commission on Missionary Education, which also reaches seven million persons annually by means of books, plays, film strips and films produced by the Friendship Press. The Division administers some 600 leadership schools each year, guides religious education and daily vacation schools, coordinates programs for 471 church-related colleges. The Division produced and holds the copyright of the Revised Standard Version of the Bible, and serves as the custodian of its basic text . . .

"Through its *Division of Christian Life and Work*, the Council encourages study in the churches of international affairs and worship and the arts; seeks to stimulate among Christians the application of Christian principles to economic life and racial and cultural relations; gathers and analyzes information on religious liberty; helps to coordinate the churches' health and social welfare agencies with national voluntary and government agencies; aids the denominations in planning a cooperative approach to stewardship and benevolence . . .

"Through its *Division of Home Missions*, the Council works to meet the changing needs of urban and rural churches; maintains a church building consultation service; has programs for agricultural migrants and Indians; provides a clearing house of information and

experience for home mission institutions; assists member boards and agencies in recruitment of missionary personnel . . .

"Through its *Division of Foreign Missions*, the Council coordinates the proclaiming of the gospel overseas by 73 foreign missions boards and 41 denominations. It works with the churches in area committees, and with the churches overseas through National Christian Councils, on problems facing Christian missions in 60 countries. It assumes responsibility for the health of missionaries while in the United States, and supplies clinical services through the Associated Mission Medical Office. It conducts a literacy program in 65 countries . . .

"Through *Church World Service*, 35 Protestant and Orthodox boards and agencies provide world-wide aid to the needy. CWS sends millions of pounds of food, clothing, medicines and other relief aid overseas annually. It rehabilitates war amputees, runs child care centers overseas and has already brought more than 100,000 refugees to the United States.

"Through the *Central Department of Evangelism*, the Council holds National Christian Teaching Missions, campus meetings and programs, services and discussions at military bases. It cooperates in a National Parks Ministry . . .

"Through the *General Department of United Church Women*, the Council promotes the united work of church women in missions, world relations and social action; sponsors the World Day of Prayer; World Community Day for relief and international understanding; May Fellowship Day for the local community; and programs of leadership education . . .

"Through *United Church Men*, the Council helps develop programs that concern the national consciousness of church men in local communities, supports their emphases on Christian colleges and Christian missions in cooperation with existing programs of the National Council . . .

"Through the *Broadcasting and Film Commission*, the Council presents Christian programs on radio and television networks and stations; maintains liaison with the movies; prepares audio visuals for the churches; provides broadcast training for clergy and laity . . .

"Through the *Bureau of Research and Survey*, the Council gathers and analyzes information, carries out research in cooperation with colleges, universities and foundations; publishes Information Service, a bi-weekly review and digest; gathers church statistics and publishes them in The Year-book of American Churches . . .

The National Council has made statements and taken positions, in the name of the church, on the following topics:

1. The recognition of Red China by the United States and the admission of Red China to the United Nations.
2. Against the right to work laws.
3. Against the immigration laws as now written.
4. Against the Bricker Amendment.

These are some of the numerous pronouncements of the National Council and are among those which your committee considers to be of a controversial, political nature.

The National Council, Departments or Committees thereof, have indicated in their literature that they represent

thirty-eight million to sixty million Protestants. When a statement or pronouncement is made, it is made in the name of only that committee or the Council, but the newspapers indicate that the council is speaking for millions of Protestants, and this impression is not corrected with equal publicity. In other words, it is this committee's opinion, that the Council is only too happy to have the United Nations, the U.S. Legislative Bodies and the public believe they are speaking for thirty-eight to sixty million people.

Regarding the right to work law issue, you may or may not be aware of the fact that several years ago the AFL-CIO made a gift of some \$200,000 in cash to the National Council. This money was given through the Phillip Murray Memorial Foundation, and the labor union *News* quoted the Council as stating "that the money will be used by the National Council on behalf of the practical application of religious principles to the everyday world of economic life." Shortly after this gift was received the Council's Department of the Church and Economic Life began a study of the right to work law issue, and their report, in pamphlet form, which was officially approved by the General Board of the National Council, holds that the right to work idea is all wrong from the Christian standpoint, and, therefore, there should be no right to work laws. We understand that the pamphlet issued by the Council was used extensively by the unions in the right to work referendum campaign in various states during the 1958 campaign.

From the "Hearing before the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 86th Congress, 2nd Session, February 25, 1960, on the Issues Presented by Air Reserve Center Training Manual," at page 1303 and 1304, we find the following statement made by the staff director of the committee:

"Mr. Arens. May I first say, Mr. Chairman, in view of the Secretary's repudiation of the information conveyed respecting the National Council of Churches of Christ in America, the chairman issued a statement to the effect that the leadership of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America had hundreds or at least over 100 affiliations with Communist fronts and causes. Since then we have made careful, but yet incomplete checks, and it is a complete understatement. *Thus far of the leadership of the National Council of Churches of Christ in America, we have found over 100 persons in leadership capacity with either Communist-front records or records of service to Communist causes.* The aggregate affiliations of the leadership, instead of being in the hundreds as the chairman first indicated, is now, according to our latest count, into the thousands, and we have yet to complete our check, which would certainly suggest, on the basis of the authoritative sources of this committee, that the statement that there is infiltration of fellow-travelers in churches and educational institutions is a complete understatement.

Now, with reference to the people whose names are specified, on 15-14 the first is *Walter Russell Bowie* whose name appears on 15-14. Our records thus far, and we have only made an examination of the most available information, is that he has had over 33 affiliations with Communist fronts and causes; that *Henry J. Cadbury* has had a total of not less than nine, which we have been able to confirm—the manual says 13—that *George Dahl*, concerning whom the manual says had 13 affiliations, we have thus far verified not 13 but 18.

With reference to *Leroy Waterman*, we have thus far identified and verified 20 connections with Communist fronts or causes. With reference to *Fleming Jones*, we have thus far verified a total of 25."

(Emphasis Added)

A resolution adopted by the General Board of the National Council contained the following statement, which was sent to the Un-American Activities Committee:

"We call upon the Chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee to retract his untrue statement of charges against the churches and to apologize to the National Council of Churches and to the 60 million members of Protestant churches in America, and we further call to the attention of all churches and their members the never ending necessities to protect the freedom of religion and to exercise the duty of all Christians to judge the acts of the same in the light of the teachings, example and sacrifice of Jesus Christ."

The telegram was signed by: Eugene Blake, Clerk, United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.; Fred Hoskins, President, the United Church of Christ; Arthur Lichtenberger, Presiding Bishop Protestant Episcopal Church; Arthur Miller, Moderator, United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.; Frederick Buckley Newell, Bishop of New York area of the Methodist Church; and James E. Wagner, President, United Church of Christ.

Representative Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania, the Chairman of the Committee immediately sent the following telegram to each of the signers:

"Do you desire the opportunity to appear before the Committee on Un-American Activities in order to question the accuracy of the material which came from the Committee files and which appears in the Air Force Manual? If you desire such opportunity, we can arrange a time convenient to yourself. Signed, Francis Walter."

From that date in April of this year to the date of this report, the invitation to testify has not been accepted by any of these six gentlemen.

What is a "Communist front organization"? The following is an excerpt from the testimony of J. Edgar Hoover before the Committee on Un-American Activities on March 26, 1947:

"For the most part, front organizations assumed the character of either a mass or membership organization. Both solicited and used names of prominent persons. Literally hundreds of groups and organizations have either been infiltrated or organized primarily to accomplish the purposes of promoting the interests of the Soviet Union in the United States, the promotion of Soviet war and peace aims, the exploitation of Negroes in the United States, work among foreign-language groups, and to secure a favorable viewpoint toward the Communists in domestic, political, social, and economic issues.

The first requisite for front organizations is an idealistic sounding title. Hundreds of organizations have come into being and have gone out of existence when their true purposes have become known or exposed while others with high-sounding names are continually springing up.

"There are easy tests to establish the real character of such organizations:

1. Does the group espouse the cause of Americanism or the cause of Soviet Russia?
2. Does the organization feature as speakers at its meetings known Communists, sympathizers, or fellow travelers?
3. Does the organization shift when the party line shifts?
4. Does the organization sponsor causes, campaigns, literature, petitions, or other activities sponsored by the party or other front organizations?
5. Is the organization used as a sounding board by or is it endorsed by Communist-controlled labor unions?
6. Does its literature follow the Communist line or is it printed by the Communist press?
7. Does the organization receive constant favorable mention in Communist publications?
8. Does the organization present itself to be non-partisan yet engage in political activities and consistently advocate causes favored by the Communists?
9. Does the organization denounce American and British foreign policy while always lauding Soviet policy?
10. Does the organization utilize Communist "double talk" by referring to Soviet-dominated countries as democracies complaining that the United States is imperialistic and constantly denouncing monopoly-capital?
11. Have outstanding leaders in public life openly renounced affiliation with the organization?
12. Does the organization, if espousing liberal progressive causes, attract well-known honest patriotic liberals or does it denounce well-known liberals?
13. Does the organization have a consistent record of supporting the American viewpoint over the years?
14. Does the organization consider matters not directly related to its avowed purposes and objectives?"

In his decision on the deportation of Harry Bridges, the Attorney General, Mr. Francis Biddle, included the following excellent description of Communist-front organizations:

"Testimony on front organizations showed that they were represented to the public for some legitimate reform objective, but actually used by the Communist Party to carry on its activities pending the time when the Communists believe they can seize power through revolution."

We might add, in reference to certain press releases that we have read concerning the retraction of the Air Force Manual and the apology that was made to the National Council, the following taken from page 1299 of the Air Force Manual Hearing:

"Mr. Arens. Mr. Secretary, when you issued your press release repudiating the publication as representing the Air Force views and issued your apolo-

gy to the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S., did you, by that act, mean to convey the impression that the Air Force was convinced that the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S. was not infiltrated by fellow-travelers? Secretary Sharp. No, I did not intend to indicate any concurrence with this statement, or objections to the statement as to its validity. I felt simply that this kind of a statement should not be made in an Air Force publication."

From Page 1302-1303:

"Mr. Arens. Did your statement of repudiation of the Air Force manual in any sense mean a repudiation of the validity or the integrity of the statements attributed to committee sources by the author of the manual?"

Secretary Sharp. I have no reason to doubt that they were authentic, although, actually, I have not checked in detail to find whether the statements were accurate.

From Page 1313:

"Mr. Jackson. Mr. Secretary, in the revised edition of this particular manual, is it contemplated that the material relative to communism in religion is going to come out of the revised manual? Is any mention at all going to be in the new manual with respect to the efforts of the Communist Party to infiltrate into church institutions?"

"Secretary Sharp. I would hope so; yes sir.

"Mr. Jackson. I would think it would be a dismal retreat from the facts of life if it is not pointed out that these efforts are going on.

The Communist Party is not stupid and, obviously would not neglect as important a field in our national life as churches.

Within the last month, here in the city of Washington, in a Methodist church, a former president of the National Council of Churches (G. Bromley Oxnam) sat in a forum discussion with an identified agent of the Communist Party, one who was convicted of contempt of Congress, whose appeal was recently turned down, and who is probably going to jail. This was not a matter in which the church individuals involved had no knowledge of the nature of the meeting, because for weeks it had been discussed in the press.

One Baptist church in the District—and I hope Heaven will look kindly on the minister of that church—refused to let the group use his church for that purpose when the nature of the meeting became apparent and when it was made known that an identified, convicted Communist was going to be on the platform with high church officials.

I would hope that in this revised manual it will again be pointed out very clearly that there is a continuing effort to infiltrate the churches of this country."

"Secretary Sharp. I would say that if it were not in the manual, we would be very derelict in our duty to inform our people.

Mr. Jackson. I would look forward to seeing the manual when it comes out because the same thing

that pertains to churches pertains to some of the schools of this country.

Secretary Sharp. That is correct."

In response to our correspondence with the Un-American Activities Committee requesting additional information concerning the Air Force Manual and the National Council, we attach the letter from Chairman Walter in reply as Exhibit I.

LEFT-WING ACTIVITIES:

G. Bromley Oxnam: A former President and member of the Board of the Federal Council. He was one of the most active promoters of the new National Council and presently serves as one of its Board members. The report of his affiliations is contained in his testimony before the Un-American Activities Committee on July 21, 1953, and is attached hereto as Exhibit II. (Oxnam is the only leader of the National Council who has appeared before the House Un-American Activities Committee.)

His sworn explanation to his affiliations breaks down this way:

1. As to some he doesn't remember.
2. As to some he signed because somebody else had already signed ahead of him.
3. As to some his name was used without his permission.
4. As to some he signed because it was a good and righteous cause, and he would do it again.
5. As to some he made a mistake.

Edwin T. Dahlberg: Formerly the Chairman of the Department of Evangelism of the Federal Council of Churches and Vice Chairman of the Joint Department of Evangelism of the National Council. Presently President of the National Council, and long known as a radical pacifist, Dahlberg has signed and endorsed:

1. A "friend-of-the-court" brief in the famous *Melish* case.
2. A statement calling for the end of nuclear tests.
3. A signer and member of the Citizens Committee to free Earl Browder.
4. A member of the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, a Communist spy.
5. A member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.
6. On the National Committee to Repeal the Immigration Act.
7. Signer of an open letter to President Roosevelt protesting the deportation of Harry Bridges.
8. Endorsed a report of 7 clergymen who visited Yugoslavia.
9. A member of the Washington Conference on Peaceful Alternatives.
10. For the recognition of Red China.

Roswell P. Barnes: Formerly Associate General Secretary of the Federal Council and former Executive Secretary of the Division of Christian Life and Work. He has been affiliated with the following:

1. A national sponsor of the Emergency Peace Campaign.
2. National Religion and Labor Foundation.
3. Committee on militarism and education.

4. Secretary of Norman Thomas Campaign Committee.
5. Fellowship of Socialist Christians, which he served as secretary.
6. North American Committee to aid Spanish Democracy.
7. United China Relief.
8. War Resisters League.

W. Russell Bowie: Active in the National Council; former Vice Chairman of the Commission on Worship of the Federal Council and former Vice Chairman of the Department of Worship for the Federal Council. He has been affiliated with the following:

1. American Committee for non-participation in Japanese aggression.
2. American Committee to Save Refugees.
3. American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.
4. Church Emergency Committee for Relief of Textile Strikers.
5. Church League for Industrial Democracy.
6. Attack the American Legion Lobby in Washington.
7. Citizens Emergency Conference for Interracial Unity.
8. Civil Rights Congress.
9. Committee on Militarism in Education.
10. Coordinating Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo.
11. Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief.
12. Friends of Italian Democracy.
13. Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights.
14. Member of Harry Bridges Defense Committee.
15. National Citizens Political Action Committee.
16. National Citizens Committee on Relations with Latin America.
17. National Councils of the Arts, Sciences and Professions.
18. National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights.
19. National Federation of Constitutional Liberties.
20. Non-Intervention Citizens Committee.
21. North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.
22. Signed open letter to President Roosevelt protesting Harry Bridges deportation.
23. World Tomorrow Poll, which called for socialism.

These are only a few of the records of left-wing activities of various leaders, past and present, of the National Council that your Committee has listed.

HOW A CHURCH BECOMES A MEMBER

A single church does not and can not become a member of the National Council. We, as church members, are related to the respective Councils through our own denominational bodies. We are related to the local Houston Council through the congregation; to the Texas State Council through the state denominational judicatory; in our case, the Texas Convention of Christian Churches; to the National and World Councils through our national group, or the International Convention of Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ.)

An individual church then does not become a member of either the National or the World Council. They are affiliated with the two Councils through their denomination, and, as long as the congregation belongs to a certain denomination and that denomination is a member of the National and World Councils, the relationship between the individual Church and Council will continue.

The important thing to keep in mind is that our congregation did not vote to join either the World or National Councils. This decision was made for us by our National leaders. The only choice that we, as a church group, have is whether or not to cooperate with them.

THE ROLE AND VOICE OF EACH INDIVIDUAL CHURCH

A single church congregation has no role or voice in either the National or World Councils. The Executive Secretary of our International Convention advised us by letter that he serves on various committees and the matter of voting, votes his own particular conscience as to what he feels like the particular stand of our denomination would be on any given issue. *The Committee has made a diligent inquiry, and it has not been brought to our attention that any opportunity has been given us, either as individuals or a church group, to express our opinion on the election of the leadership of the National Council or any of the matters which have been passed in resolution form, or otherwise, by the General Assembly, General Board, or the various departments of the National Council, except through registering a protest at our District, State and National Conventions.*

We can look to a resolution passed at their General Board meeting in December of 1958 for the starting point:

"If and when it appears that specific pronouncements in any area of international affairs should be made by the National Council of Churches, such pronouncements will be developed by the responsible departments and divisions of the Council for adoption by the General Board."

The Cleveland World Order Study Conference held in November, 1958, which was sponsored by the Department of International Affairs of the Council, illustrates the operation of this principle.

The message of this study conference was brought to the General Board of the National Council in December of 1958. Although the Board withheld official endorsement, its resolution commended the Cleveland Conference for speaking out "on controversial political, economic and social issues" in its "message to the churches, calling for changes in the United States foreign policy."

The Board then declared that the Cleveland Study Conference has performed a valuable function in helping the churches and their members carry forward the process of the American people's development of their foreign policy. The Board's resolution concluded as follows:

"We call upon our constituency and all American citizens to study carefully the full text of the message of the Cleveland Conference, and later, when available, its full report, to the end that reasoned progress may be made by the people of the United States and their government toward solving the serious problems faced by our nation in its foreign relations."

We have mentioned the Red China issue which came out of this Conference. The following was also advocated:

- "Coexistence with the Communist nations;**
- "Avoidance of the posture of general hostility to the Communist nations;**
- "A call to fellow churchmen to work to overcome segregation in all areas, beginning with their own congregations and including housing, public services and economic or occupational opportunities;**
- "Ratification of the Genocide Convention;**
- "Internationalism to supersede national patriotism;**
- "Disarmament by multilateral agreement with the goal of universal disarmament;**
- "The use of military force only when sanctioned by and under the control of the United Nations;**
- "The creation of a permanent United Nations police force and abolition of universal military training;**
- "Abolition of the system of military conscription and of selective service system;**
- "Opposition to the concept of nuclear retaliation or preventive war;**
- "Extension of trade and travel without restrictions between the United States and Communist countries."**

THE LAYMEN'S POINT OF VIEW

As stated in the foreword to this report, we have read Chairman Pew's final report to the National Lay Committee and attach hereto as Exhibit III, his explanatory letter preceding the report.

We quote from page 36 of the report listing a few of the comments made by members of the Lay Committee on the activities of the National Council:

- "Greater concentration and attention than ever is being given economic and political questions; I thought that this was a religious organization!"**
- "The majority of the General Board decisions are made without proper consideration and far too little research."**
- "Questions that Congress must take months to decide are disposed of in the General Board inside a half hour."**
- "No referendum is expected on any of these political questions; no procedure for referring questions to constituency is provided; what has become of the democratic process?"**

Briefly summarized, the activities of the Lay Committee were originally to collaborate with the General Board of the National Council and the various Departments on all pronouncements and statements of policy. The first job, however, given the Lay Committee was to raise some \$600,000 to finance the National Council, in its formative years and until its Department of Finance could become activated. Thereafter, the Lay Committee took a strong adverse position to the issuance of "controversial statements and studies in the fields of sociology, economics and politics; and the danger inherent in speaking to official Washington and the United Nations General Assembly in

behalf of Protestantism on matters outside their field and for which they possess no mandate."

When it became apparent that there could be no reconciliation between the statements of the National Council and the Lay Committee membership of over 200 distinguished men and women, the Lay Committee was disbanded officially on June 30, 1955, by action of the National Council General Board.

A major issue of disagreement between the Lay Committee and the General Board and one which "dissipated time and energies which members of the Lay Committee had constantly anticipated would be devoted to spiritual purposes" was the development that the National Council's policy in regard to its stands on controversial political questions of a secular nature was to be substantially that of the old Federal Council of Churches.

In May 1954, Chairman Pew, at the Lay Committee's yearly meeting in Philadelphia, made a report concerning the issuance of controversial statements and studies by the Council and its units. This report was based upon the discussions which had occurred between the Council and Lay leaders; upon prolific correspondence with members of the Lay Committee; upon discussions with the Executive Committee members of the Lay Committee and upon public opinion polls. In part this report states:

"There are, in general, four ways by which the public are reached by the National Council; *First*, by so-called "study materials" which require no action by the General Board; *second*, through national and local conferences sponsored by the National Council, but whose findings do not come before the Board for approval prior to release for publication and are not monitored for conformity to General Board policy; *third*, through speeches of those more or less importantly associated with the National Council; and *fourth*, through the pronouncements released after the formal approval of the General Board.

"As an illustration in point, there can be cited two examples: the material issued by the Council's Division of Christian Life and Work commenting on Inflation; and the Council's expressed opposition to the Bricker Amendment.

"In the case of Inflation, the report was made a study document. And in the Bricker Amendment, it was the National Council's Department of International Justice and Goodwill, at its conference in Cleveland, which succeeded in creating the inference that 33 million church people in this country are opposed to the Bricker Amendment.

"Our Lay Committee believes that the church should be a dedicated religious organization and as such, doubts that it should be engaged in making pronouncements on highly controversial economic and political subjects upon which the clergy are frequently ill-informed, regarding which they have no mandate whether from God or the Laity, and where such controversy diminishes the effectiveness of the church's moral and spiritual leadership.

"How controversial these pronouncements have been is illustrated by the fact that a great majority of the laypeople in our churches, for instance, believe that the transitional free market and a voluntary society, are spiritually, morally and philosophically right. *Our Committee believes that church*

organizations should devote their time and energy to saving souls and making Christians out of people; that once people have become Christians, they will evolve a government which can be depended upon to administer the affairs of state wisely and well.

"The resolutions passed unanimously at our Lay Committee's Hershey meeting a year ago were an expression of the critical attitude of this lay group toward a purportedly religious activity in which it appears that 30 out of 64 statements issued by the Council were addressed to the Federal Government, either directly or through the press, thus bringing the church into the area of political controversy.

"*The National Council of Churches, as presently constituted possesses no valid mandate to speak on controversial political, economic or sociological questions for 33 million Protestants who sit in the pews of those church denominations affiliated with the National Council of the Churches.*

"These comments do not bear on the merits of any particular controversial issue, nor to freedom of any individual clergyman to give expressions to any view he may hold with respect to such controversial political, economic or sociological issues. The question raised runs both to the propriety and the desirability of continuing the practices currently being followed." (Emphasis Added)

CONCLUSIONS

The policies and plans of the National Council of Churches, as now constituted and directed, are not in accordance with the faith and practices of the Spring Branch Christian Church.

Many of the statements and pronouncements forthcoming from the National Council have been of a serious political nature and directed toward the Federal Government.

We believe that the Church has every right to, and should speak out on all moral issues. We believe that the corporate church has the same right. We do not believe that the Church nor the corporate Church should speak out on political issues nor on the political aspects of economic and social issues. When they do, they are seriously in danger of linking state and church, and combining two divine institutions whose objectives and functions are in every way different and independent of each other.

The state is temporal in its administration, and designed for the temporal welfare of its citizens. The Church is a spiritual organization designed to witness to the saving and keeping power of the Lord, Jesus Christ, and to minister to the spiritual needs of the people.

We do not condemn the principle that should derive from the corporate Church of cooperation between church groups. We recognize that there may be a need for an agency which can, in mutually agreed areas, represent Protestantism.

The National Council of Churches is, in effect, a powerful action body exerting its influence on our National Government on controversial political, social and economic issues, and as such a group, the Council wields a very powerful influence on legislative bodies because of the inferences, allowed to be created in the press, that it represents and speaks for some thirty-eight to sixty million Protestants.

Not only does the Council make pronouncements to the press, they actively seek to influence the Congress by litera-

ture and statements, and by personal contact. The effect of such activity by such a large and powerful group doubtless affects legislation, and is certainly intended to affect legislation.

The Council concerns itself with political issues to the detriment of its stands on religious or moral issues.

We believe that the National Council attempts to influence the thinking of our National Legislators toward Socialistic action through the Council's policy statements and pronouncements.

The National Council is led and directed by a small group of religious professionals who have tended to utilize the Council as a political pressure group. We believe that some of them have been duped or led into allowing the use of their names by organizations which do not have the best interests of our nation and our way of life as their objectives.

As presently constituted, the rank and file members of the Church have no voice in what the National Council does and says. How can the Council speak for the Churches affiliated with it except the people be given an opportunity to express themselves and be recorded on each issue? The National Council represents "Authority without Responsibility."

Although creating the impression that it speaks for anywhere from thirty-eight to sixty million people, the National Council possesses no such authority, and we are convinced that the overwhelming majority of the Protestants in America do not approve of getting the Church involved in political, social and economic issues in the name of the Church.

EXHIBIT I

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES House of Representatives Committee on Un-American Activities WASHINGTON

June 2, 1960

Dear Mr. _____:

In response to your request for any additional information the Committee might have in connection with the controversial Air Force Manual and the National Council of Churches, it would seem appropriate that some explanation be made of the position of the Committee with reference to religious institutions.

The Communists know, and have so stated, that before the people will accept the ideology of communism, religion, which they call the opiate of the people, must be eliminated or neutralized.

Since the Communists understand that religion is the greatest obstacle to the success of the Communist cause, this Committee has always recognized and pointed out that our religious institutions are the free world's greatest bulwark against atheistic, godless, communism. The Committee, therefore, has urged and continues to urge the growth and strengthening of our religious institutions.

The Committee has not and does not investigate churches or religious organizations. What it has done is to point out the techniques used by the Communist apparatus to infiltrate and weaken the church. It would be grossly erroneous to interpret such activity on the part of the Committee as an attack upon the church or religious institutions.

The public records, files and publications of this Committee contain information with respect to participation in behalf of Communist fronts and causes of individuals who, from time to time, have been identified in a leadership capacity with the National Council of Churches, but such participation in behalf of Communist fronts and causes does not necessarily indicate that such individuals should be considered Communist, Communist sympathizers, or fellow travelers.

It has not been the policy of the Committee, in the course of its investigative hearings, to inquire as to Communist front activities of individuals unless such activities were connected in some way with alleged Communist Party affiliations. The reason for this is, that though some individuals participate in front activities wittingly, others do so unwittingly. The Committee strongly feels that in the light of this policy, and the present controversy which has arisen over the publication of the Air Force Manual, it would be against public interest for the Committee to release a list of names of individuals with Communist front affiliations.

With very best regards, I am,

Sincerely yours
Francis E. Walter (signed)
Chairman

EXHIBIT II

INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Subject: G. Bromley Oxnam

Public records, files, and publications of this committee reveal the following information concerning the individual named above:

The Washington Star of February 10, 1930, carries a news item datelined Indiana State Reformatory, February 9. The article refers to a speech made by Dr. G. Bromley Oxnam, president of De Pauw University, to the inmates of the reformatory. Dr. Oxnam is reported as decrying the practice of nations in entering into secret treaties, and declaring that the slogan of "America First" must be interpreted as meaning America first in world service, and not "to be first to go into Mexico to steal oil lands."

A letterhead of the League for the Organization of Progress dated February 2, 1931, reflects the name of G. Bromley Oxnam, president De Pauw University, as a member of the board. The League for the Organization of Progress has never been cited as a front organization. It was an international organization founded in Paris in 1912, with headquarters in Bern, Switzerland. The American office was located at Yellow Springs, Ohio. The league has long been out of existence.

A letterhead of the National Religion and Labor Foundation, dated 1932, reflects the name of G. Bromley Oxnam as a member of the national committee.

The National Religion and Labor Foundation, which has not been cited as a front organization, was founded in 1932 by Francis J. McConnell, Jerome Davis, and John A. Ryan. The official publication was Economic Justice. The first issue of Economic Justice (November 1932) printed a cartoon of Jesus by Art Young, New Masses cartoonist. With the cartoon of Jesus appeared these words: "Reward for Information Leading to Apprehension of Jesus Christ. Wanted—for Sedition, Criminal Anarchy, Vagrancy, and

Conspiring to 'Overthrow the Established Government.'"

The National Religion and Labor Foundation apparently is still in existence. There is no record in the public files of this committee showing Dr. Oxnham's disaffiliation with that organization.

On January 30, 1933, the Fellowship of Reconciliation released a petition addressed to the President of the United States urging the recognition of the Soviet Union. The name of G. Bromley Oxnham, president of De Pauw University, appears as one of the signers.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation, allegedly a strictly pacifist organization, was organized in 1915 and is the American section of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. Organized under the alleged motive to reconcile people, it maintains that class war is necessary and that all must work for the reorganization of society, and replace the present system of individual capitalism by collective ownership. The public records and files of this committee contain no further reference to any affiliation of Bishop Oxnham with the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

A letterhead of the Committee on Militarism in Education, dated October 1, 1935, reflects the name of Bromley Oxnham as a member of national council. Kirby Page, a member of the national council, testified before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities on June 15, 1934. He stated that the Committee on Militarism in Education was opposed to military education in civilian schools. The following is quoted from a letter of the Committee on Militarism in Education dated September 22, 1930:

"* * * Militarism in education goes on, accumulating power and tradition, aided by War Department money and resources, * * * by propaganda, glorified by every device of military romance in literally hundreds of American colleges, universities, and high schools, building that blind, unreasoning, emotional response to military symbols which has so often swayed and deceived men in a crisis. Against this glorification of the military method and machine, the peace movement has accomplished little as yet. The spearhead of the struggle against militarism in schools and colleges has been this committee. It has waged peace with intelligence and courage, showing not only the zeal of the peace advocate but the sound methods of the social scientist. Specializing on this one issue, it occupies a unique place in current peace endeavors, duplicating no other agency." * * *

The Daily Worker of September 24, 1937, page 6, contains an article about a meeting to be held at Madison Square Garden on October 1. This meeting held under the auspices of the American League Against War and Fascism and the American Friends of the Chinese People, featured William E. Dodd as the speaker. The name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnham appears as a sponsor of the meeting.

Letterheads of the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to aid Spanish Democracy dated July 6, 1938, and February 2, 1939, list the name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnham as a national sponsor.

A photostatic copy of a letterhead of the American League for Peace and Democracy dated April 16, 1939, reflects the name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnham as a national sponsor. The June-July 1941 issue of the Protestant Digest reflects the name of G. Bromley Oxnham as an editorial adviser. A call to the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship, to be held November 6-8, 1943 reflects the name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnham as a sponsor of that congress.

The Daily Worker of October 6, 1944 (p. 9) carries a news item concerning a rally sponsored by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, celebrating the 27th

anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Union and the 11th anniversary of diplomatic relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. Bishop G. Bromley Oxnham is listed as one of the sponsors.

A letterhead of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship dated March 13, 1946, reflects the name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnham as sponsor.

A letterhead of the Massachusetts Council of American-Soviet Friendship dated December 15, 1943, reflects the name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnham as chairman of the executive board.

The Washington Daily News of April 7, 1947, contains a news item concerning the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. In the article, the name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnham is listed as one who had withdrawn from the organization. The date of Bishop Oxnham's withdrawal is not mentioned.

On December 26, 1941, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties issued a press release to the effect that an open letter had been addressed to the President and the Congress of the United States, opposing anti-labor legislation as a dire threat to the unity essential for the defeat of Japan and her axis partners. The name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnham appears as one of the signers of the letter.

In January 1943, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties addressed a message to the House of Representatives. This message was a plea for the discontinuance of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities. One of the reasons given was: "The Dies Committee, by continuing and repeated attacks on our great ally, the Soviet Union, has utilized its resources to obstruct the cooperation of the United Nations, which is a prerequisite for victory." The name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnham appears as one of the signers of the message.

The Citizens Victory Committee for Harry Bridges issued an undated press release in regard to an open letter addressed to President Roosevelt by more than 300 clergymen throughout the country, urging that the deportation order against Harry Bridges be set aside. The letter, dated April 22, 1943, and signed by the Rt. Rev. Edward L. Parsons states, in part, "Clearly, Mr. Bridges has aroused the animosity of an influential minority because of his successful union activities and his political and economic beliefs." The name of the Rt. Rev. G. Bromley Oxnham, Methodist Bishop, Boston, Massachusetts, is listed as one who joined with Bishop Parsons in signing the letter.

The Citizens Victory Committee for Harry Bridges, located at 1775 Broadway, New York City, was one of four such organizations created for the defense of Harry Bridges. The others were: The Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges at 1265 Broadway, New York City; the Harry Bridges Defense Committee of San Francisco, with branches in Los Angeles, Seattle and Portland; and the Harry Bridges Victory Committee of San Francisco.

The Attorney General of the United States has listed the Citizens' Committee for Harry Bridges as a Communist organization. The same classification applies to the other three organizations.

A letterhead of the American Civil Liberties Union, dated February 8, 1946, reflects the name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnham as a member of its national committee. A Special Committee To Investigate Communist Activities in the United States (Fish Committee), in a report dated January 17, 1931, said:

The American Civil Liberties Union is closely affiliated with the Communist movement in the United States, and fully 90 percent of its efforts are on behalf of Communists who have come into conflict with the law. It claims to stand for free speech, free press, and free assembly; but it is quite apparent that the main function of the ACLU is to attempt to protect the Communists in their advocacy of force and violence to overthrow the Government, replacing the American flag and erecting a Soviet Government in place of the republican form of government guaranteed to each State by the Federal Constitution.

In a report dated January 3, 1939, a Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities and Propaganda in the United States (Dies Committee) said:

The committee heard testimony with reference to the Civil Liberties Union. Some witnesses listed this organization as communistic, while other witnesses denied it was communistic. We received in evidence a number of pamphlets distributed by the Civil Liberties Union, which speak for themselves. From the evidence before us, we are not in a position to definitely state whether or not this organization can properly be classed as a Communist organization.

A letterhead of the American Committee for Spanish Freedom, dated January 21, 1946, reflects the name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam as a sponsor.

A letterhead of the Methodist Federation for Social Service dated October 4, 1928, reflects the name of G. Bromley Oxnam as executive secretary, while another letterhead of the same organization dated April 12, 1946, reflects the name of G. Bromley Oxnam as a member of the executive committee.

The Bureau County Republican of May 18, 1939, carries a front page story concerning the Methodist Federation for Social Service. The following appears in the article:

Five Bishops of the new unified Methodist Church in session at Kansas City last week aligned themselves with the radical Methodist Federation for Social Service which conducted a conference running simultaneously for the Uniting Conference. Three other bishops, at meetings of the federation, were declared to be in sympathy with the organization, making eight bishops favoring their cause out of a total of more than 40 bishops present at the Uniting Conference. While the number of bishops endorsing the radical organization was small in proportion to the total number, yet their influence was tremendous over the entire session. It was so strong that no objection to their activities was expressed from any quarter. The federation suffered only one defeat and that was when the Uniting Conference passed a motion to delete a pronouncement in favor of social economic planning from the discipline of the united church.

The five bishops endorsed the federation's platform for the overthrow of the present capitalistic system in the United States and favored its replacement with a social-planning order. The pamphlets of the federation, distributed at the session, declare that under the new social order private ownership of property is to come to an end. Under their system there are to be no capitalists. Private property, according to the pamphlets, is to be taken over without compensation to the owners and operated by "useful social workers."

Four prominent bishops of the Methodist church attended the dinner of the Methodist Federation for Social Service held at the YMCA Building. The bishops occupied seats at the speakers' table and made addresses. A fifth bishop, Edgar Blake, of the Detroit area, sent word that he was unable to be present on account of conference work,

but extended his best wishes for the success of the federation of which he is a member of the executive committee.

The four bishops who made speeches eulogizing the federation are:

Bishop Francis J. McConnell, of the New York City area, president of the American Federation for Social Service.

Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, formerly of the Omaha area, assigned last week to the Boston area.

Bishop James C. Baker, of the San Francisco area.

Bishop Paul B. Kern, of the Nashville, Tennessee area.

* * * Bishop Oxnam, who as a student got his training from Dr. Harry F. Ward, at the Theological Institute, was the first speaker on the program. He was introduced by Bishop McConnell as a man who comes out flatfooted on any principle for which he stands and does it without mincing words. Bishop McConnell said Bishop Oxnam reminds him of a railroad train which starts rather idly, but steams up as it goes along and gradually makes high speed at the climax.

Bishop Oxnam said he thoroughly endorses the Methodist Federation for Social Service and the things for which it stands. He read from the masthead of the federation's literature the following statement, which outlines the federation's purposes:

"The Methodist Federation for Social Service is an organization which rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society; which seeks to replace it with social, economic planning in order to develop a society without class distinction and privilege."

The economic plan referred to by Bishop Oxnam is further elucidated in the pamphlet containing the platform of the federation.

On page 11 the pamphlets declare "Social economic planning can give everybody plenty and security."

On page 12: "Under social ownership there won't be any capitalists and all the returns will go direct to the people."

Page 10: "The only country that has a complete social economic plan is the Soviet Union."

On page 13 the plan of the Soviet Union of Russia is again commended. On a dozen pages the pamphlets declare private property will be taken from the present owners without compensation. The owners, however, are to be given the jobs by the useful social workers and it is said they ought to feel grateful to be permitted to become a part of the planning scheme.

Bishop Oxnam paid a high tribute to the federation and to its secretary, Dr. Ward, whom he regarded as one of the greatest leaders in the new industrial, social, economic planning movement. Bishop Oxnam said that as a student he took dictation from Dr. Ward in the writing of some of his books known to all radical leaders * * *

The Washington Post of November 24, 1948, page 1, carries a news item datelined Newark, New Jersey, November 23, regarding a speech made by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam before the Newark Conference of the Methodist Church. Bishop Oxnam is reported to have denounced the Committee on Un-American Activities. He is quoted as saying:

"Protestants believe that the conspirators who would destroy our freedom can be ferreted out and properly punished better by the painstaking and patriotic procedures of the Federal Bureau of Investigation than by the heresy and un-American procedures of this committee."

Bishop Oxnham was evidently referring to a pamphlet issued by the Committee on Un-American Activities entitled, "100 Things You Should Know About Communism and Religion." wherein it was reported that the Methodist Federation for Social Action, while not an official church unit, is trying to use the prestige of the Methodist Church to promote the line of the Communist Party.

The Washington Star of December 8, 1948, at page 7, carries a news item datelined Buck Hills Falls, Pennsylvania, December 8, in which Bishop Oxnham is reported as having said that the House Committee on Un-American Activities is un-American itself for attempting to pin the Communist label on some churchmen and church groups. Also, Bishop Oxnham is reported as saying that such "absurd charges" are "disguised efforts to silence men on the pulpit by threatening to call them Communist."

The Daily Worker of December 1, 1947, at page 3, carries a news item regarding a letter made public by the arts, sciences, and professions council of the Progressive Citizens of America, denouncing the motion-picture producers for their "shocking and degrading capitulation to the discredited and irresponsible House Committee on Un-American Activities." The name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnham appears as one of the signers of this letter.

The New York Times of February 24, 1949, pages 1 and 3, contains a news item regarding the presentation of the annual award of the Churchman to Bishop Oxnham. It was reported that Bishop Oxnham said that the United States must not flirt with Franco to stop Stalin. Bishop Oxnham is quoted as saying: "We cannot expect the common man to believe our democratic pronouncements if we make deals with dictators, or ally ourselves with political, economic, or ecclesiastical reaction."

The Daily Worker of June 22, 1949, carries a news item datelined Boston, June 21, to the effect that Bishop G. Bromley Oxnham assailed congressional witchhunts, and said:

"Freeman may well be alarmed at the action of the House Un-American Activities Committee in asking for a list of textbooks used by schools and colleges. At the very moment calm and critical minds are essential, leaders in the grip of fear become hysterical and adopt procedures destructive of democracy. More time given to constructive legislation designed to demonstrate the effectiveness of dynamic democracy, and less time to character assassination would produce greater benefits."

The Washington Evening Star of May 26, 1950, carries a news item datelined Boston, May 26. Bishop G. Bromley Oxnham is reported as calling for joint action between Protestants and Catholics to meet the onslaught of communism.

Bishop Oxnham addressed a letter to the Committee on Un-American Activities on May 11, 1950. In it, he stated that he never belonged to the American League Against War and Fascism. He further stated he thought it would be fundamentally unfair to say he belonged to the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship without saying that affiliation with this organization was during the war, when Russia was one of our allies.

In another letter dated May 16, 1950, Bishop Oxnham states that the American Civil Liberties Union is not, and has never been, a Communist organization; that the Committee on Militarism in Education was never a Communist organization; that the Fellowship of Reconciliation is an absolute pacifist organization and he never belonged to it;

that he did belong to the Methodist Federation for Social Action but no longer is a member; that he did serve on the advisory committee of the Protestant, but resigned.

In the third letter he wrote to the committee, dated February 12, 1951, Bishop Oxnham stated that he was never a member of the American Friends of the Chinese People; that he was never a member of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties and never signed any statement of that organization; that he did authorize the use of his name by the American Friends for Spanish Freedom, and that he resigned from the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship following the war.

Organizations and publications mentioned herein which have been—

- (1) Cited by the Special Committee and/or Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities;
- (2) Cited by the United States Attorney General: American Committee for Spanish Freedom (2) American Friends of the Chinese People (1) American League Against War and Fascism (1) and (2) American League for Peace and Democracy (1) and (2) Citizens Victory Committee for Harry Bridges (1) and (2) Congress of American-Soviet Friendship (1) Daily Worker (1) Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy (1) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (1) and (2) New Masses (1) and (2) Protestant Digest (1)

1608 Walnut Street
Philadelphia 3, Pa.
December 15, 1955

EXHIBIT III

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL LAY COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

The following report is a painstaking compilation of the events, conversations and documents we have recorded during our Committee's term of life, March 28, 1951-June 30, 1955.

In the failure of this most important effort to bring about an enduring partnership between the clergy and laity, I feel a very real responsibility to provide a comprehensive and factual account of those steps which led to the Board's action discontinuing lay participation.

The members of the National Lay Committee gave liberally of their time and energy in an effort to establish unity in Protestant organization. Its members substituted for the Board's Committee on Business and Finance until that Committee could be organized late in 1951, and even after that continued to lend a helping hand. It supplied members to a long list of the Council's assemblies, boards and committees. It held yearly meetings of its members, and I shall long remember them for their high degree of spiritual inspiration.

Throughout our Committee's term of life, it repeatedly brought to the Council's attention the seriousness of the

problems involved in its issuance of controversial statements and studies in the fields of sociology, economics and politics; and the danger inherent in speaking to official Washington and the United Nations General Assembly in behalf of Protestantism on matters outside their field and for which they possessed no mandate. (Emphasis Added)

We had been told at the Lay Committee's Princeton meeting, April 5-6, 1952, that laity had been absent in large degree from the councils of organized Protestantism for decades. The reappearance of independent and responsible laity in the councils of the church was said by Dr. John A. Mackay at that meeting to be "the most creative movement which had emerged in the recent history of the Christian Church."

However, as we participated in the discussions of the General Board, the Council's divisional assemblies and committees, we laypeople found ourselves not only deeply in the minority but often poles apart from the clergy who invariably outvoted us ten-to-one in these sessions. The whole membership of the Council was continuously aware of the inadequacy of lay participation in its deliberations. Many official reports emphasized this fact. For example, those of us present at the Council's General Assembly in Denver heard Bishop Oxnham, chairman of the Committee on Study and Adjustment report as follows:

"There has been a tendency in recent years to expect religious professionals to carry too heavy a share of those responsibilities which should be carried jointly by professionals and laity."

The members of the Lay Committee were often misunderstood in their urgency to keep the churches out of politics and their insistence on the primacy of evangelism. Our premise was that, instead of appealing to government, the church should devote its energies to the work of promoting the attributes of Christianity—truth, honesty, fairness, generosity, justice and charity—in the hearts and minds of men. We attempted to emphasize that Christ stressed not the expanded state but the dignity and responsibility of the individual. (Emphasis Added)

It was at a General Board meeting in Chicago, May 18-19, 1953, that we realized the extent and character of the philosophy held currently by most of the ordained executives and officers directing the work of the several denominational headquarters staff, and therefore of the National Council. Their philosophy it seemed to the Lay Committee, looked to an ever-expanding government. Clergy and laity active in organized Protestantism seemed to have lost the capacity to understand each other. We, as laypeople, were alarmed and unhappy as the National Council assumed the right to speak increasingly on subjects in which it was difficult to see ethical or spiritual content for that inarticulate and voiceless body called, "34,000,000 Protestants."

The Chicago Board meeting indicated beyond doubt that the time was not yet ripe for the partnership between clergy and laity we had envisioned with so much hope and enthusiasm when the National Council was organized, back in 1950.

Laypeople, however, were not alone in questioning the Council's issuance of statements and studies in which ethical or spiritual content was absent or overshadowed by political implications. We learned that in the issuance of statements pastors of local churches were closer to laypeople and their thinking than were denominational executives and officers.

How did it happen that the hopes and aspirations expressed by the Planning Committee and concurred in by the Chairman and the members of the Lay Committee failed so utterly of accomplishments? This much is certain—with a few exceptions, the members of the Lay Committee had agreed to serve only because they had been assured that the new National Council would avoid the political involvements and controversies which had characterized the activities of the old Federal Council of Churches which was now superseded.

I shall not discuss the steps by which the National Council was to follow substantially the policy of the Federal Council. These are enumerated in the report which follows this letter. It did, however, become increasingly evident with the passing of time that it was vital for the National Council to have functioning within its organization an autonomous lay group with the responsibility of interpreting the work of the Council to the laity, and of interpreting the viewpoint of the laity to the Council.

On February 24, 1954, the Lay Committee's officers and Executive Committee addressed a letter to Bishop William C. Martin, then president of the National Council, and forwarded copies to the members of the Council's General Board. This letter in full is to be found in the appendix which follows the report. As you will note, this letter suggested that the Lay Committee must retain its planning and working entity; that the proposed integration of the Lay Committee members, one-by-one, into the more than seventy units of the Council was not the answer. The letter said further that members of the Lay Committee were presently participating in the work of a large number of the Council's divisions, boards and committees; and that further dissemination without being able to discuss problems and aspirations with an autonomous Lay Committee would cause the loss to the Council of these laypeople's skills, experience and viewpoints. The letter emphasized that

"The overall view of the Council's work, plus the opportunity to review this composite picture, is essential to the keeping together of this group of 190 laypeople. If our primary task is to be the interpretation of the Council's work, then we must know the whole picture collectively, be organized to discuss it and plan its interpretation together."

The Executive Committee stressed that dissemination alone could only render us ineffectual, and mean the abandonment of the whole philosophy of a clergy- and -laity partnership.

Our Committee's work seemed to the Executive Committee to be completed when we addressed our "Lay Affirmation" to the Council's Committee on Policy and Strategy on September 13, 1954, and to the General Board on September 15, 1954, on the subject of "Corporate Pronouncements of Denominational or Interdenominational Agencies." While the entire statement is to be found in the appendix, I quote here one important paragraph:

"Our Committee believes that the National Council of the Churches impairs its ability to meet its prime responsibility when, sitting in judgment on current secular affairs, it becomes involved in economic or political controversy having no moral or ethical content, promoting division where unity of purpose should obtain, nor do we believe that the National Council has a mandate to engage in such activities."

When the General Board took no action on this "Lay Affirmation" beyond voting to receive the document with gratitude, most of the members of the Lay Committee came finally to the realization that a wide chasm existed between the thinking of the laity and the clergy and executives of the denominational bodies which comprise the National Council.

One last effort was made to hold the support of the Lay Committee without conferring upon its membership the opportunities or responsibilities which had been looked for since the first discussion in July of 1950. This approach, however, did not come from the General Board but from the Executive Committee of the Board of Managers of the General Department of United Church Men. The proposal was reminiscent of the earlier unworkable situation that had existed between 1950 and 1952 and called for constituting the Lay Committee as a standing committee of United Church Men but with even more limited autonomy, status and program than had heretofore been the lot of the Lay Committee. Since the minimum conditions for continued existence as fixed by the Executive Committee of the Lay Committee had the support of the membership at large and were found to be incompatible with the invitation tendered, the Chairman found no alternative but to decline it, which he did in concurrence with the prior approval of the Vice Chairman and twenty-seven of the thirty-one members of the Executive Committee.

Thus, on June 30, 1955, the Lay Committee ceased to exist as a Committee of the General Board. The partnership projected by the Planning Committee and subsequently thus described as a goal desired by the National Council officials, proved in practice to be one where lay men and women of the churches were expected to provide avenues of support for policies and programs largely determined by professionals.

The members of the Lay Committee believed, and so stated that the political adventures of the National Council in the fields of economic and political controversy would seriously hinder and not further Christian leadership in the pressing fields of evangelism, fellowship and education.
(Emphasis Added)

It appears from the record that the National Council could find no room for opposition to the philosophies and practices carried over from the old Federal Council. Lacking the patience to resolve the basic problem, it has sought to bury it.

But the issue still remains as one which must be resolved if the Protestant Christian witness of the great denominations which make up the membership of the National Council is to gain strength and not weakness from its activities.

If our Christian witness is to flourish an effort must be made to develop stronger roots of leadership in the great and still largely untilled fields of Christian lay activity, both within and without denominational channels. This is the effort to which the members of the Lay Committee had hoped to add their strength. It is an effort which should be continued until a more resourceful lay leadership can effect that partnership between clergy and laity so vital to the welfare of Protestantism. *The Lay Committee believes also that the Constitution of the National Council must be so amended as to permit real lay participation before it can speak authoritatively for the clergy and those who sit in the pews.*
(Emphasis Added)

The Chairman believes, as stated in the Affirmation of the Lay Committee, that the National Council's proper and legitimate field of activity transcends in importance all other areas of human activity and aspirations. He is convinced that until the problems crystallized by the experiences of the Lay Committee have been adequately dealt with the vitally necessary work of Christianity will not go forward with that unity of purpose between the clergy and laity essential for progress toward our common aim that God's Will be done on earth as it is in heaven.

He trusts that efforts to discover a workable reconciliation of the divergent views will be carried forward and that a program can be developed through which laity and clergy may more effectively work together for the greater glory of God and the redemption of all mankind.

Sincerely yours,
s/J. Howard Pew
Chairman
National Lay Committee

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News and Views

Eternal Vigilance Is Forever The Price Of Freedom

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PART TWO

Pacifism, Socialism, Communism, and the National Council of Churches

by

J. B. MATTHEWS

Pacifist manifestos, pacifist demonstrations, "walks for peace," and picketing at the nuclear and missile weapons testing sites are among the pacifist activities which are in the news almost daily.

Whatever the motives which inspire the growing pacifist agitation in the United States may be, it is clearly in the interest of Soviet aggression and against the interest of the United States that every type of pacifist activity and propaganda be encouraged. The seal of Moscow's approval is bestowed upon every effort of American pacifists to thwart the preparedness of the United States to meet the aggression and the threat of aggression of the Soviet Union.

At the end of *Part One* of this study, attention was directed to a press release (April 21, 1958) of A. J. Muste's Church Peace Mission, reporting that 137 individuals (all but one of whom are Protestant clergymen) had signed "A Call for Moratorium on Nuclear and Missile Tests."

The signers of the Church Peace Mission's "call" stated that their action was "in line with the responsibility laid upon [them] by the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches." Just how a body composed of clergymen who are not American citizens for the greater part (and including clergymen from the Iron Curtain Communist countries) could exert moral authority over a group of American clergymen is an interesting phenomenon.

The ideological position of the World Council of Churches with respect to Communism is essentially neutralist or anti-anti-Communist, always excepting of course its definitely pro-Communist members who come from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and elsewhere behind the Iron Curtain. This august body of globally-minded ecclesiastics lacks the moral perception and courage to brand Communism and the Communist states as intrinsically evil.

The views of the high officials of the World Council of Churches are well represented by Professor John C. Bennett, on the question of "hostility" and "opposition" to Communism. Professor Bennett, who is Dean of Union Theological Seminary, has been a key figure in the World Council of Churches and his name heads the list of the clergymen who signed the Church Peace Mission's "call for a moratorium on nuclear and missile tests." Addressing the International Congregational Council on July 4, 1958, Dean Bennett called upon the Christian churches in the West "to stop the continuous expressions of national and religious hostility to Communists and Communist nations."

Dean Bennett then added that the churches "should not take so rigid an attitude that they cannot see that second generation Communists in Russia may become concerned chiefly about building their own country, that they may become less fanatical believers in their ideology and less a threat to the freedom of their neighbors." That, my dear readers, is an example of the Christian leadership offered by the contingent of pacifist, Socialist, and fellow-traveling clergymen of the World Council of Churches as well as the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America.

The widely distributed pamphlets of the Church Peace Mission are written by such left-wing pacifists as Harold A. Bosley, Henry J. Cadbury, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Nels F. S. Ferré, Georgia E. Harkness, Albert E. Day, Paul E. Scherer, A. J. Muste, and George Miles Gibson.

Fellowship of Reconciliation

The Church Peace Mission grew out of the activities of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, according to the claims of the latter. In fact, the FOR claims to have spawned many of the leftwing organizations which have worked in season and out of season to further the interests of the Communist conspiracy without being an integral part of the latter. The FOR has the following to say about itself: "Out of its activities and the concerns of its members and committees have grown such diverse organizations as the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Religion and Labor Foundation, the Workers Defense League, the Committee on Militarism in Education, the Congress on Racial Equality, the National Council Against Conscription, the Society for Social Responsibility in Science, the Church Peace Mission, and most recently, the American Committee on Africa."

The Fellowship of Reconciliation has been characterized by a socialist orientation throughout its history. It is an affiliate of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation which is officially on record as urging its members in its national affiliates to join "political movements which aim at the replacement of private capitalism by a system of collective ownership."

In its current publications, the Fellowship of Reconciliation lists 47 individuals as members of an advisory council or as editorial contributors. Three of these individuals are not citizens of the United States. Thirty-five of the 44

Americans listed have records of affiliation with Communist fronts and enterprises, as follows:

Roland H. Bainton
*Harold A. Bosley
*Charles F. Boss
*George A. Buttrick
Henry J. Cadbury
*Robert L. Calhoun
*Allan Knight Chalmers
*Bernard C. Clausen
Sarah N. Cleghorn
Florence Converse
*Henry Elit Crane
*Edwin T. Dahlberg
*Albert Edward Day
William J. Faulkner
Nels F. S. Ferre
*Harry Emerson Fosdick
Richard B. Gregg
Isidor Hoffman

John Haynes Holmes
Allan A. Hunter
*Josephine W. Johnson
*E. Stanley Jones
*Martin Luther King, Jr.
Kenneth S. Latourette
W. Appleton Lawrence
Halford E. Lucecock
Mary Ely Lyman
Milton Mayer
Alfred D. Moore
Clarence Pickett
*Paul Scherer
Pitirim A. Sorokin
Douglas V. Steere
Arthur L. Swift, Jr.
*Howard Thurman

According to Milton Mayer, an editorial contributor of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, this organization of pacifists has some 5,000 clergymen and 10,000 laymen in its membership.

**Indicates official connection with Federal or National Council of Churches.*

Milton Mayer's brand of pacifism, as illustrated in a speech delivered in Syracuse, N.Y., in 1947, is beyond comprehension by most Americans. In defending his proposal for world government, Mayer told his audience: "We must haul down the American flag. And if I wanted to be vulgar and shocking, I would go even farther and say haul it down, stomp on it and spit on it." (Syracuse Post-Standard, February 17, 1947).

The California Senate Investigation Committee on Education, under the able chairmanship of Senator Nelson S. Dillworth, has recently published a comprehensive report on the Fellowship of Reconciliation, showing the great extent to which the members and officers of the FOR have supported the Communist-front apparatus.

In 1951, the House Committee on Un-American Activities published a special report entitled *The Communist "Peace" Offensive*, sub-titled "A Campaign to Disarm and Defeat the United States."

The report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities opens with the following words: "The most dangerous hoax ever devised by the international Communist conspiracy is the current world-wide 'peace' offensive."

"Communists and their co-conspirators are spearheading this movement in cities and communities throughout the United States—at meetings, on street corners, in shops, homes, schools and colleges, in the press and on the radio—in fact, in every walk of life. Unless it is completely exposed, many may be deceived and ensnared."

The international Communist conspiracy is as active in perpetrating a peace hoax in 1958 as it was when the House Committee's report was published in 1951.

In the body of the House Committee's 166-page report, the names of 503 Protestant clergymen are listed as supporters of one or more of the units of the Communist peace hoax. Seventy-eight of the 503 listed clergymen have been officially connected with the Federal-National Council of Churches.

In a section of its report entitled "Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact," the House Committee on Un-American Activities traced the beginning of that Communist "peace" organization to a committee of five which included the Rev. Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg who is now the president of the National Council of Churches. With reference to this Communist "peace" front, the House Committee said: "Communists in the United States did their

part in the Moscow campaign by instigating a Conference for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, allegedly held in July 1949 in Washington, D.C. This resulted in the formation of a front organization known as the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact."

The House Committee's report then named the five individuals who served as Communist tools in the initiating of this "peace" front, as follows: Albert Einstein and Thomas Mann, both of whom were refugees from Hitler's Germany; Emily Greene Balch, long active as a pacifist; Bishop W. J. Walls, African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church; and the Rev. Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg, who was then a member of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches. Einstein, Mann, and Miss Balch were Nobel prize winners. With respect to the organization of this committee of five stooges, the House Committee observed: "That these individuals actually traveled from the four corners of the continent to confer on this plan is doubtful."

Einstein, Thomas Mann, Miss Balch, and Bishop Walls were already veteran fellow travelers in the Communist-front apparatus by the summer of 1949. Dr. Dahlberg was at that time far behind his four colleagues as a Communist front.

The Conference for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact issued two press releases dated August 21, 1949, and December 14, 1949. The first of these press releases listed 631 clergymen as supporters and the second listed 609. Subtracting 253 whose names appeared on both lists, we find that a grand total of 987 Protestant clergymen were publicly affiliated with this unit of the Communist peace hoax. Eighty-one of these 987 clergymen have been on the rosters of officers of the Federal-National Council of Churches.

In another section of the House Committee's report, we find the following statement: "Encouraged by its success in drawing dupes into its campaign, the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact launched a more ambitious project under the high-sounding title of the Mid-Century Conference for Peace. This was held at the St. James Methodist Church in Chicago on May 29 and 30, 1950."

"The Avowed purpose was to pressure 'the President and the Congress of the United States to undertake negotiations with the government of the Soviet Union' and demand that the 'United States delegation to the United Nations' present 'positive proposals for peace.' In plain terms, the conference was aimed at assembling as many gullible persons as possible under Communist direction and turning them into a vast sounding board for Communist propaganda."

Among the clergymen who appeared publicly as sponsors of the Mid-Century Conference for Peace, 54 have been officers of the Federal-National Council of Churches.

Editors Support the Communist "Peace" Offensive

The Communists have shown an amazing ability to draw the editors of religious periodicals into their "campaign to disarm and defeat the United States." In their misguided pacifist sentiment, these editors have disseminated the Communist Party line among hundreds of thousands of church-going Americans whom the Communists could never reach with their own publications.

In the list of editors which follows, an asterisk indicates that the name of an editor has been on the rolls of the Federal-National Council of Churches officers. The following religious editors (with the titles of their publications and denominational status) supported the Communist "peace" organizations which were exposed in the April, 1951, report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities:

- *David D. Baker, *The Messenger* (Evangelical and Reformed)
- *J. Pius Barbour, *National Baptist Voice* (National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.)
- *Desmond W. Bittinger, *Gospel Messenger* (Church of the Brethren)
- John W. Bradbury, *Watchman-Examiner* (American Baptist)
- J. S. Brookens, *A.M.E. Review* (African Methodist Episcopal)
- G. H. Carter, *Christian Index* (Christian Methodist Episcopal)
- *Harold Ehrensperger, *Motive* (Methodist)
- *Phillips P. Elliott, *Presbyterian Tribune* (Presbyterian, USA)
- *Harold E. Fey, *Christian Century* (un denominational)
- Roscoe T. Foust, *The Witness* (Protestant Episcopal)
- E. E. Harris, *Telescope - Messenger* (Evangelical United Lutheran)
- *J. Clinton Hoggard, *Missionary Seer* (African Methodist Episcopal Zion)
- Fred A. Hughes, *Christian Recorder* (African Methodist Episcopal)
- *Jameson Jones, *Power* (Methodist)
- William H. Leach, *Church Management* (un denominational)
- Kenneth Leslie, *The Protestant* (un denominational)
- John E. Marvin, *Michigan Christian Advocate* (Methodist)
- *E. E. Ryden, *Lutheran Companion* (Augustana Evangelical Lutheran)
- *George V. Schick, *Lutheran Witness* (Missouri Synod)
- E. W. Schramm, *Lutheran Standard* (American Lutheran)
- *John R. Scottford, *Advance* (Congregational Christian)
- Guy Emery Shipley, *The Churchman* (Independent Protestant Episcopal)
- *William B. Spofford, *The Witness* (Protestant Episcopal)
- Prince A. Taylor, Jr., *Central Christian Advocate* (Methodist)

Revised Standard Version of the Bible

Every reader of this issue of *News and Views* will undoubtedly know something about the "New Bible," published on September 30, 1952, and copyrighted by the National Council of the Churches of Christ. Here, for the first time, however, is recorded the precise extent of the pro-Communist and pacifist affiliations of the members of the committee which presided over the translation of the so-called Revised Standard Version of the Bible.

The National Council of Churches has just published a brochure in which the names of the Revision Committee (32 members) and the Advisory Board (52 members) are listed. Thirteen of the thirty-two members of the Revision Committee and fourteen of the fifty-two members of the Advisory Board have records of affiliation with Communist and pacifist groups. The names of eight members of the Revision Committee who have five or more such affiliations, together with titles of the Communist and pacifist groups, are as follows:

Translators and Affiliations

W. Russell Bowie — American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; American Committee to Save Refugees; American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression; American Society for the Abolition of War; Italy; Christian Leaders Against Atlantic Pact; Churchmen Associates; Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder; Citizens Emergency Conference for Interracial Unity; Congress on Civil Rights; Co-ordinating Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo; Council Against Intolerance in America; Exiled Writers Committee; Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights; Joint Anti-Pacifist Refugee Committee; Melish Brief *Amici Curiae* (1950); Melish Brief *Amici Curiae* (1951); Melish Brief *Amici Curiae* (1958); National Citizens Political Action Committee; National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act; National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions; National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy; Open Letter on Harry Bridges; Open Letter Opposing Military Aid to Spain (1951); The Protestant; Schappes Defense Committee; Statement Endorsing Distribution of Report on Yugoslavia; Veterans of Abraham Lincoln Brigade; Washington Committee to Lift Spanish Embargo.

Leroy Waterman — American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom; American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; American Committee to Save Refugees; Bachrach Open Letter to the Attorney General; Brief *Amici Curiae* for Communist Party; Brief *Amici Curiae* for Morton Sobell; Citizens Committee to Secure Bail for Martin Young; Civil Rights Congress; Committee to End Sedition Laws; Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America;

Council on Pan American Democracy; Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights; Hiroshima Commemorative Committee; International Workers Order; Michigan Civil Rights Federation; National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act; National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act; National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; Open Letter for Eisler; Open Letter on Harry Bridges; Religious Freedom Committee; Spanish Refugee Appeal; United Summer Appeal for Smith Act Children; Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

Flaming — American Appeal for Amnesty for Eleven Communist Party Leaders; Bachrach Open Letter to the Attorney General; Bill of Rights Conference; Citizens Committee to Secure Bail for Martin Young; Committee for Medical Freedom; Committee of One Thousand; Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact; Committee of Welcome for the Very Reverend Hewlett Johnson; Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact; Inter-Faith Committee for Peace Action; International Workers Order; Melish Brief *Amici Curiae* (1950); Melish Brief *Amici Curiae* (1951); National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act; National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act; National Committee to Win Amnesty; National Conference to Defend the Bill of Rights; National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions; Statement Endorsing Distribution of Report on Yugoslavia; Statement against Concentration Camps; World Peace Appeal.

Henry J. Cadbury — American Rescue Ship Mission; Appeal to Guard Civil Rights; Boston Committee Against Jenner; Christian Leaders Against Atlantic Pact; Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact; Conference on Social Legislation; Fellowship of Reconciliation; Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee; National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; Protest Against Massachusetts Investigating Committee; Statement Defending 5th Amendment Witnesses; Statement Endorsing Book by Albert E. Kahn; World Peace Appeal.

George Dahl — American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom; American Friends of Spanish Democracy; American Welcoming Committee for World Peace Delegation; Citizens Committee to Secure Bail for Martin Young; Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact; Committee of Welcome for the Very Reverend Hewlett Johnson; Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact; Melish Brief *Amici Curiae* (1951); National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act; National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; Open Letter on Harry Bridges; Schappes Defense Committee; Yale Petition to Lift Spanish Embargo.

Frederick C. Grant — Churchmen Associates; Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges; Melish Brief *Amici Curiae* (1950); Melish Brief *Amici Curiae* (1951); Melish Brief *Amici Curiae* (1958); National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; Russian War Relief; Statement Endorsing Distribution of Report on Yugoslavia.

Luther A. Weigle — Co-ordinating Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo; National Religion and Labor Foundation; North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy; Protestant Digest; Union for Concerted Peace Efforts; Yale Petition to Lift Spanish Embargo.

Miller Burruss — American Committee for Yugoslav Relief; Citizens United Against Wood-Rankin Committee; Council on Pan American Democracy; National Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism; Open Letter on Harry Bridges.

Interlocking Directorate

A chart of the names of 44 Protestant clergymen will graphically portray the interlocking and overlapping of personnel in the leadership of the Federal-National Council of Churches, the pacifist-socialist movement, and the Communist-front apparatus.

In the chart which follows, an X in column (1) indicates official connection with the Federal-National Council of Churches; an X in column (2) represents affiliation with the Church Peace Mission; an X in column (3) affiliation with the Mid-Century Conference for Peace; an X in column (4) affiliation with the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact; an X in column (5) indicates affiliation with one of the committees set up throughout the United States under the name of Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy; and an X in column (6) means affiliation with sundry other Communist fronts or enterprises.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
John C. Bennett Dean, Union Theological Seminary	X	X			X	X
Lester H. Bill Methodist, Indianapolis, Ind.		X	X	X		X
Harold A. Bosley Methodist, Evanston, Ill.	X	X				X
Charles W. Brashares Methodist Bishop, Chicago, Ill.	X	X		X		X
Allan Knight Chalmers Boston University School of Theology	X	X				X
Albert Buckner Coe Congregational Christian, Boston	X	X	X	X		X
D. Stanley Coors Methodist Bishop, St. Paul, Minn.	X	X				X
Henry Hitt Crane Methodist, Detroit, Mich.	X	X	X	X	X	X
Earl Cranston Dean, University of Southern California School of Theology		X		X		X
Edwin T. Dahlberg President, National Council of the Churches of Christ	X	X		X		X
Albert E. Day American University, Washington, D. C.	X	X				X
L. Harold DeWolf Boston University School of Theology		X	X	X		
Phillips P. Elliott Presbyterian, USA, Brooklyn, N. Y.	X	X	X	X	X	X
Harry Emerson Fosdick Baptist, minister emeritus	X	X			X	X
George Miles Gibson McCormick Theological Seminary		X	X	X		X
A. Raymond Grant Methodist Bishop, Portland, Ore.	X	X		X		X
Wesley H. Hager Methodist, St. Louis, Mo.		X		X		X
Georgia Harkness Pacific School of Religion	X	X	X	X		X
John Haynes Holmes Unitarian, minister emeritus		X	X	X	X	X
Walter Marshall Horton Oberlin Graduate School of Theology	X	X	X			X
L. H. Lammert Evangelical and Reformed, Missouri	X	X				X
W. Appleton Lawrence Protestant Episcopal Bishop, retired		X		X		X
Charles T. Leber Presbyterian, USA, New York	X	X				X
John Wesley Lord Methodist Bishop, Boston, Mass.	X	X				X
Edgar A. Love Methodist Bishop, Baltimore, Md.	X	X				X
John A. Mackay President, Princeton Theological Seminary	X	X				X
Robert J. McCracken Minister, Riverside Church, New York		X			X	X
Robert W. Moon Methodist, San Leandro, Calif.	X	X	X	X		X
Walter G. Muelder Dean, Boston University School of Theology	X	X	X	X		X
A. J. Muste Presbyterian, USA, New York	X	X			X	X
John Oliver Nelson Yale Divinity School	X	X				X
Glenn R. Phillips Methodist Bishop, Denver, Colo.	X	X				X
Ray W. Ragsdale Methodist, Los Angeles, Calif.	X	X		X		X
Harrie Franklin Roll Garrett Biblical Institute, professor emeritus	X	X				X
Ernest W. Saunders Garrett Biblical Institute		X	X	X	X	X
John Nevill Sayre International Fellowship of Reconciliation		X	X			X
Paul E. Scherer Union Theological Seminary	X	X				X
Walter W. Sikes Butler University, Indianapolis, Ind.		X		X		X
B. Julian Smith Christian Methodist Episcopal Bishop	X	X				X
Ralph W. Sockman Methodist, New York	X	X			X	X
Arthur L. Swift, Jr. New School for Social Research		X		X	X	X
Tyler Thompson Garrett Biblical Institute		X		X		X
Howard Thurman Dean, Marsh Chapel, Boston University	X	X			X	X
Frank M. Toothaker Methodist, Redlands, Calif.		X	X	X		X

News and Views

Eternal Vigilance Is Forever The Price Of Freedom

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The Ghost Of Judas Walks In Hungary

The full story of the betrayal of the Hungarian people has not been told by the secular or ("recognized") sacred press to the American people. This story is well known inside Intelligence circles of the governments of the Western Allies and the Iron Curtain bloc. The details of the role played by liberal Protestant churchmen who are puppeteers of the Soviet government is shocking and disgusting beyond description.

In order to comprehend the part played by these "wolves in sheeps' clothing," it is necessary to go back into a few years of recent history.

On July 7, 1953, there appeared before the Committee On Un-American Activities of the U. S. House of Representatives in executive session, New York City, Joseph Zack Kornfeder, a graduate of the Lenin School of Political Warfare in Moscow and former member of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States. Mr. Kornfeder was asked by Representative Scherer of Ohio what methods the Communist leaders adopted in Russia, shortly after the Bolshevik Revolution, for taking over the churches, and church-supported institutions.

Mr. Kornfeder stated that at first the Bolshevik leaders used crude tactics, such as attacking religion openly and ridiculing sacred institutions. However, the Red leaders soon found out that this was not accomplishing their purpose, namely, the destruction of religion in Russia and the supplanting of the same with Atheism. So, they adopted a new tactic—to infiltrate the church via the age-old method of hypocrisy; or, now known as "putting on a front." The Reds were advised to join the churches; obtain teaching positions on the staffs of seminaries; edit church literature; not to destroy the Bible, but rather *re-interpret* the teachings of Christ and the Apostles to suit Communist ends! That is, anything in the Bible which could be twisted and distorted to serve Communist ends was to be utilized by these false religious leaders to destroy the faith of the Russian people.

This plan worked so successfully in the Soviet Union that it has since been adopted as standard procedure by the Reds for penetrating the sphere of religion over the entire world.

Other witnesses who appeared before the same Committee hearing—on the subject of Communist penetration of religion—not only testified to the exact same thing but stated that it was successful beyond the wildest dreams of the Communist Party.

J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has stated in his article, "God Or Chaos" (Red Book Magazine, February 1949) that the Communists "have operated under the guise of some church commission or religious body and it is ghastly to see the monster Atheism being nourished in the churches which it seeks to destroy."

The strategy laid down by Lenin and Stalin was put into full operation in the nations of Eastern Europe by the present day Soviet leaders shortly after the end of World War II. They installed, in these countries, Communists and Communist-sympathizers, as church heads; as professors in the theological seminaries; and as editors of church publications and Sunday School material.

Once these Communist clergymen were put in positions of power, they used their offices to attempt the brainwashing of the religious people of the Eastern Nations in favor of the World Communist conspiracy. The evidence to back up these charges would fill volumes. This evidence is not only in the hands of churchmen throughout the world but it is stacked up in the United States State Department, the Intelligence agencies, and is known by many Statesmen of the Western World who are afraid to open their mouths for fear that they will be accused of "attacking the churches."

The most shocking thing about this whole story is that the United States of America, which is supposed to represent the hopes of free people and oppressed people everywhere, has in recent months entertained these Red wolves as house guests!

Here is the story in chronological sequence:

● August, 1948: World Council of Churches formed in Amsterdam. Six regional presidents elected, including a Communist, Dr. T. C. Chao of Peiping, China, who welcomed Mao Tse Tung's armies in their conquest of Free China. Prof. Josef Hromadka, number one Soviet Communist clergyman from Prague, Czechoslovakia, elected to powerful Central Committee of World Council of Churches along with Bishop Albert Berezcky, Communist head of the Hungarian Reformed Church. World Council of Churches planned to hold its next world meeting in the United States in 1952 (world meeting scheduled every four years) but McCarran-Walter Immigration and Security Laws were passed by U. S. Congress forbidding entry of Communists or Communist sympathizers into the United States.

● September 16, 1951: Theologian Karl Barth of Switzerland accuses Bishop Berezcky (Hungary) of openly ap-

proving Communism and that Berezky's Church Press Service sounded like the official releases from the Soviet Union.

- **August 15-28, 1952:** Conference on Faith and Order of the World Council of Churches in Lund, Sweden. Large group of American Protestant Clergymen, representing about 29 denominations, met in secret session with Communist clergymen Hromadka and Bishop Berezky.

- **March 11, 1953:** The radical Christian Century spearheads attack on McCarran Immigration Law in an editorial entitled, "McCarran Act Revision A Church Priority." Christian Century is the recognized voice of the religious liberals in the U.S.A. Editorial states that "unless the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act is revised in the current session of Congress, its operation will probably keep out of the country many of the church leaders who should come from abroad to the 1954 World Assembly of Churches in Evanston.

- **April 8, 1953:** Senator McCarran replies to Century's attack in a letter and says, "(1) Untrue, or (2) a shocking charge against many of the church leaders who should come from abroad."

- **October 7, 1953:** Christian Century in an editorial entitled "Evanston Storm Warnings," urges local pastors to do a brain-washing job on members of their congregations so as to prepare them for the shock of Communist clergymen coming into the United States for World Council meeting. Century says that reporters who will cover World Council meeting "have been carefully briefed." Doesn't say by whom, but implies that they, too, will help out with the brain-washing job. The Century warns that there will be severe criticism of the United States—and that there should be. "A certain species of 'patriotism' will deeply resent this." The Century then uses the hypothetical case of Prof. Hromadka insisting that "the church not only can and does survive under Communism but that it grows in spiritual vigor." This left-wing magazine then gives its formula for making the American public receptive to such charges. It will instruct the pastors in a series of editorials as to how to attack all those who oppose the Communists, including other churchmen and patriotic societies.

- **October 15, 1953:** Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen, chairman of the World Council of Churches' Study Department Committee, addresses University of Pennsylvania audience and states that there will be some resistance to the Red delegates from behind the Iron Curtain but that "this resistance will fail and the delegates will be admitted into the United States."

- **November 17, 1953:** National Council of Churches, which is host for the World Council meeting, holds its National Board Meeting in Washington, D. C., and pressurizes the President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower, into being its honored guest. Councilite figures in the Eisenhower Administration, John Foster Dulles, Arthur Fleming, and Harold E. Stassen, along with Bishop Oxnham, Bishop William C. Martin (Methodist, president of National Council of Churches) and Dr. John Mackay, moderator of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A. and World Council Missionary head, welcome the President. Dr. Visser 't Hooft, General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, was brought to Switzerland to address the meeting to help pressurize

the President into accepting an invitation to appear on the platform and address the World Council of Churches meeting in Evanston.

- **November 22, 1953:** Same Dr. Visser 't Hooft occupies pulpit of the National Presbyterian Church while President and Mrs. Eisenhower attend the service. Further brain-washing.

- **December 9, 1953:** Same Dr. Visser 't Hooft, leaving for Geneva, Switzerland, declares at New York luncheon of "Friends of the World Council of Churches" that he had been impressed by the attitude of government representatives of the United States. "In planning for the Assembly we have had all the help that we could possibly expect from them. They have shown real understanding concerning the admission of church delegates to the Assembly from the Iron Curtain countries. Our invitation to the President to address the Assembly was also received with genuine cordiality and we have every hope that he will be able to be with us."

- **December 16, 1953:** Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, President of the World Council of Churches for North America, and sitting on Capitol Hill as Washington area Bishop of the Methodist Church, addresses a Christmas greeting letter to all pastors under his jurisdiction in which he states, "I am happy to say that several conferences with Mr. John Foster Dulles, to whom the church owes an increasing debt of gratitude, have resulted in reasonable assurance that the delegates to the coming Assembly of the World Council of Churches will be admitted without difficulty. By the way, have you written Mr. Dulles and the President a note of appreciation for their courageous refusal to tolerate Senator McCarthy's attempt to substitute 'a big bully' policy in Foreign affairs for the dignified and fruitful 'good neighbor' policy?"

- **December 23, 1953:** Christian Century publishes editorial regarding tribute Visser 't Hooft paid to the "seriousness with which the Reformed and Lutheran Churches of Hungary are pushing their preparations for the 1954 Assembly of the World Council. No other churches in any part of the world," Dr. Visser 't Hooft testified, "have devoted so much time to study of the Assembly topics or presented such extensive and searching reviews of the preliminary report."

- **March 17, 1954:** American Legion, First Division Cook County Council, Illinois, passes resolution demanding United States State Department refuse the granting of visas to Red clergymen from Iron Curtain countries planning to come to World Council Meeting.

- **March 20, 1954:** Second Division of the American Legion Department of Illinois, comprising 13 counties, unanimously adopts same resolution.

- **March 24, 1954:** Christian Century viciously attacks American Legion and "Fundamentalists" for trying to prevent entrance of Red clergymen to the United States.

- **April 1, 1954:** National and World Council's publicity men enraged over publicity given American Legion resolutions. Call for meeting with Illinois Legion officials. Attempt to smear individual Legionnaires and anti-communist clergymen at meeting with officials.

● **April 8, 1954:** Rev. Alton M. Motter, on leave for eight months as Executive Director of the Chicago Sunday Evening Club (platform for left-wing speakers), in order to handle public relations for World Council meeting in Evanston, addresses letter to Illinois Legion official demanding to know if Legion will push its opposition to Red clergymen further and adds further smear attacks in letter against individual Legionnaires. Legion replies to Mr. Motter in nine page letter rebuking him for smears and setting forth documentation regarding Communist clergymen and their attacks on the United States.

● **April 10, 1954:** World Council smear attack fails as American Legion Department of Illinois, representing 226,000 Legionnaires, passes first and second division resolutions unanimously.

● **April 28, 1954:** Christian Century again attacks American Legion in editorial and asks: "Why doesn't the organization try to learn the truth about the World Council of Churches?"

● **May 4, 1954:** Illinois resolution received by National Executive Committee of the American Legion in Indianapolis, representing three and a half million veterans. World Council's Press Agent Motter, and Indianapolis Presbyterian minister Jean Milner, protest the Resolution at Executive Committee Meeting. Over 50 clergymen in Indianapolis area support the American Legion's resolution. Highest ruling body of Legion passes Illinois resolution and instructs the National Commander of the American Legion to call upon the President of the United States and the Secretary of State personally and urge them not to admit Red clergymen.

● **May 5, 1954:** Christian Century carries article by National Council of Churches' lawyer, Charles C. Parlin, who was also made special chairman of the World Council's Press and Broadcasting Committee, with further attacks and smears on those opposing entrance of Red clergymen.

● **July 1, 1954:** Dr. Daniel A. Poling, leading Baptist clergyman and editor of influential Christian Herald, denounces World Council of Churches' Red clergymen and calls them "Puppets of Communism," who are coming to Evanston not to spread unity but to propagandize for Communism.

● **July 15, 1954:** World Council of Churches officials announce from New York City, via the American Press, that 16 Communist delegates will be admitted by U. S. State Department.

● **July 17, 1954:** Secretary of State Dulles asks United States Justice Department to admit "eleven delegates from Communist Czechoslovakia and Hungary to the United States." (Keep in mind Mr. Dulles was one of the founders of the World Council of Churches and also chairman of a powerful commission of the old Federal Council of Churches.) Chicago Tribune reveals names of 11 Red clergymen, including 5 from Hungary: Bishop Laszlo Dezsery, Bishop Peter Veto, Bishop Albert Bereczky, Bishop John Peter and Dr. Laszlo Pap, all from the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of Hungary. The State Department, in official press release for same day, states that "contacts with

the spiritual life of America could have a beneficial effect upon these delegates and out of this experience could come a spiritual strengthening of the churches in Hungary."

● **July 22, 1954:** Representative Alvin M. Bentley of Michigan, formerly in the diplomatic service in Hungary, makes major speech on Floor of U. S. House of Representatives identifying the Red clergymen as Communists, false churchmen, and said that allowing them to participate in the conferences at Evanston "is a shame and an affront upon those other Czechoslovakian and Hungarian religious heroes who attempted to oppose the Communists and suffered imprisonment or worse as a result. The State Department, in recommending the admission of these delegates, is hampering and sabotaging the work that so many of us are trying to do in exposing the real truth about international Communism. When the Department hopes that spiritual contacts in this country might have a beneficial effect upon the Communist delegates . . . it is in effect destroying much of the work of combating Communist propaganda that our own organs . . . are carrying on."

● **July 26, 1954:** State Department is besieged with protests from all over the nation. Dulles instructs special assistant John W. Hanes, Jr. to send out a stereotype form letter to the protestors saying that "the Secretary has given this delicate and difficult matter his most careful attention."

● **July 30, 1954:** Arthur J. Connell, National Commander of the American Legion, states in letter that the Legion's protest against the admission of the Red clergymen was addressed to the State Department and the Attorney General in May but that "to date we have not received a reply from either the Secretary of State or the Attorney General."

● **August 1, 1954:** The Daily Worker, official mouthpiece of the Communist Party, U.S.A., on page 5 devotes five column spread to a welcome for the World Council of Churches meeting in Evanston with a cartoon depicting an upraised arm and hand labeled "Humanity," holding a scroll entitled "Negotiations For World Peace." The Worker attacks the American Legion and praises the efforts of the World Council.

● **August 4, 1954:** Christian Century explodes with most vicious attack yet on those opposing entrance of the Red delegates for the World Council Meeting in an article entitled, "Differences At Evanston," by Ralph L. Roy, Union Theological Seminary student and later employed by the notorious Fund For The Republic.

● **August 15, 1954:** World Council of Churches meeting opens in Evanston mid great fan-fare from radio, press and T.V. Red clergymen are received as honored guests, participating in the Committee and Assembly deliberations and are guest speakers in American churches. President Eisenhower appears on platform with Red agents who later used their American reception for propaganda purposes behind the Iron Curtain. World Council adopts peaceful co-existence but gives it another name. Substitutes term "living together" in order to escape "some of its (peaceful co-existence) current political implications."

● **August 28, 1954:** Chicago Sun-Times reveals Christian Century denounces Committee on Un-American Activities, its chairman, Representative Harold Velde, Senator Wil-

liam E. Jenner and the U. S. Senate Sub-Committee on Internal Security, and Representative Bentley who had sent a telegram to the Hungarian delegates inviting them to tell about so-called "freedom" in Hungary to the Congressional Committee.

Attorney Parlin, Bishop Oxnham, and Dr. Franklin Fry were furious over Bentley's proposal. The Century charges Congressional Committees "had sent undercover agents into Evanston to spy on Assembly delegates." It waxes eloquent in its denunciation: "What a business for Committees of the U. S. Senate and Congress to be in, spying on a World Assembly of Churches of Jesus Christ!"

- **September 1, 1954:** World Council delegates head for home. Communists score great victory. They add two more to their number on the powerful Central Committee which directs the affairs of the World Council between Assemblies. Communist Prof. Hromadka re-elected to the Committee. Communist churches received with "the right hand of fellowship." The Archbishop of Canterbury publicly apologizes to Communist delegates before the entire World Council Assembly because Free Czech exiles picketed the Assembly on the public sidewalk and carried signs denouncing these Communist wolves. The Assembly by resolution states that these Iron Curtain delegates "in supporting the Communist Order were loyal to Christ." The World Council meeting was silent on the subject of Communist penetration of the churches of the free world and its program to capture them.

- **February 6, 1955:** World Council of Churches Executive Committee calls for a conference of clergymen between the Communist East and the Western world to formulate a policy for presentation to world political leaders. American clergymen sat with the Communist clergymen in this meeting.

- **February 15, 1955:** The American Legion, through its publication, "The Firing Line," reveals vicious attacks made against the United States by Communist clerical delegates upon their return from the World Council meeting to their homes. The U.S.A. was denounced for "the horrors of American life," "the fingerprinting of delegates which was humiliating treatment reserved only for gangsters," so-called indignities suffered at the hands of Customs Officers who "squeezed a tube of toothpaste in their search for Communist propaganda in Bishop Berczky's luggage"; "the savagery of the American Press, the stories of murder, vice, and flying saucers and of war propaganda"; "a father with two loaded guns terrorizing his young son in a sick bed and then forcing him to take a bitter medicine"; (this was a father with toy pistols playing sheriff as he offered his boy some castor oil); attacks on the American Legion, "that fascist organization of war veterans, and all kind of European exiles"; "F.B.I. interrogations," etc., etc.

- **March 15, 1955:** Red Hungarian Church Press reports "Pastors of the Budapest Reformed Presbyteries" observed the Tenth Anniversary of the *Liberation* of the Hungarian Capitol. This was the "liberation" of Free Hungary into the hands of the Communists. The main speaker at the "liberation rally" was Communist Bishop Albert Berczky, President of the Hungarian Reformed Church and leader of the World Council of Churches. Communist Deputy Premier of East Germany sent a congratulatory message to Bish-

ops Veto, Peter and Berczky, on the occasion of this anniversary celebration.

- **April 1, 1955:** Red Hungarian Church Press announces addition of Dean Laszlo Pap, Communist church leader, to the Executive Committee of the World Presbyterian Alliance of which Dr. John Mackay of Princeton Seminary U.S.A. is president.

- **April 10, 1955:** Attacks by the "Red house guests of the U.S.A." on America after their return to Iron Curtain protection causes the Chicago Tribune to write a full length editorial inferring that the American Legion's opposition to admitting these Reds may have been correct and that "the World Council might ponder the question of 'how men who know not the truth can be expected to preach the Word'."

- **April 15, 1955:** The Communists, now delighted with their successful penetration of the World Council, and the "brotherly love" with which they were received by World Council leaders become bolder and bolder. Communist Hungarian Church Press reports that the Reformed Theological Academy of Budapest would confer the Doctor of Divinity degree upon leaders of the ecumenical movement including Dr. John Mackay, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnham and the Reverend James Edgar Wagner of the United States.

- **August 1955:** Communist Bishop Janos Peter of Hungary, upon invitation of the Presbyterian Church of England, pays visit to England.

- **September 8, 1955:** American radio and press services carry announcement Bishop G. Bromley Oxnham (Methodist) will receive honorary degree from Communist-controlled Reformed Theological Academy in Budapest, Hungary, thus lending prestige and comfort to the enemies of the Hungarian people.

- **September 15-20, 1955:** Bishop and Mrs. G. Bromley Oxnham and Reverend James E. Wagner, President of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, U.S.A., attend Red controlled Budapest Theological Centenary Celebration. Oxnham and Wagner receive honorary degree. Dr. John Mackay (Presbyterian), president of Princeton Seminary, received a degree in absentia. Also attending the celebration for the Communist churchmen from Iron Curtain countries were World Council of Churches leaders from other countries, and Communist State officials including President Janos Horvath and Deputy President Jozsef Varga of the State Office for Church Affairs.

- **October 6, 1955:** General Board of the National Council of Churches announces plans for two-way exchange of religious delegations between Communist Russia and the United States. American delegation to be headed by president of the National Council of Churches, Dr. Eugene Carson Blake (Presbyterian.)

- **October 15, 1955:** Communist Hungarian Church Press announces Metropolitan Nicolai of Russia receives Soviet Union's Red Flag Order of Work. Hungarian Communist Bishop Berczky sends his congratulations. Nicolai is invited to United States by Dr. Blake (Presbyterian), president of the National Council of Churches.

- **November 17, 1955:** Hungarian Church Press reveals Communist Bishop Lajos Veto is a member of the Communist Hungarian Parliament. "He paid tribute to the

fruitful effort of peace-loving humanity for the defense of peace," in behalf of the Communist World Peace Council. Hungarian Church Press also announces Reformed Church was represented at the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches meeting in Switzerland by Bishop Veto and that the next Central Committee meeting will be held in Communist Hungary in the summer of 1956. World Council Central Committee elected Bishop Peter as member of Commission on the Relation between State and Community. Communist Bishop Veto was elected to the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, and Communist Dean Pap of the staff of the Reformed Academy of Budapest was elected to the World Council's Financial Committee. This all took place at the Central Committee Meeting in Switzerland attended by self-styled Protestant leaders from the United States and other countries.

- **February 1956:** National Council of Churches newsletter announces exchange of Communist church leaders with American church leaders for March and June. Russia's Metropolitan Nicolai sends "brotherly love" greetings.

- **March 1956:** Nine liberal Protestant leaders headed by Blake of National Council go to Moscow.

- **March 18, 1956:** Soviet Spy Chief Major General Georgi Karpoff, head of the so-called Religion Section in the dreaded M.V.D. Headquarters (Secret Police), entertains American church delegation at lavish dinner.

- **April 7-10, 1956:** Metropolitan Nicolai attends Communist World Peace Congress in Stockholm.

- **May 13, 1956:** Dr. Daniel A. Poling (world famous Baptist leader) denounces National Council of Churches leaders for their visit to Moscow. Declared that visit of U.S. clerics to Russia "played right into Soviet hands."

- **June 1956:** Eight Communist clergymen headed by Nicolai arrive in United States and begin tour of major American cities. Large demonstrations break out against them led by Eastern European exiles.

- **July 28, 1956:** World Council of Churches Central Committee meets in Communist Hungary. Reception Committee headed by top Red churchmen of Hungary, including Bereczky, Veto, Pap, and Peter. General Secretary Visser 't Hooft of World Council of Churches states, "Churches under differing systems must learn from one another."

- **September 1, 1956:** Presbyterian Life, official magazine of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., reveals World Council of Churches is now ready to sit down with Red church leaders from Russia in January of 1957 and discuss participation of Russia Orthodox Church in the World Council of Churches. Door now open to receive Communist-controlled churches into membership. Same publication photographs American Protestant churchmen with Communist church leaders.

- **September 22, 1956:** Dr. Hans Asmussen, noted German Protestant theologian, hits Protestant leanings to U.S.S.R. Describes Russian church leaders as "political tools of the anti-Christian Communist regime." Says cooperation with Communist Church leaders only benefits the Kremlin.

● ● OCTOBER 23, 1956:

REVOLUTION BEGINS IN HUNGARY

Patriots refuse to pay salaries of Communist clergymen formerly paid by the Communist State. Specific mention made in reports from Hungary of same Communist church leaders who came to World Council's meeting in Evanston in 1954, including Bishop Veto, who was elected a member of the Central Committee of the World Council.

Bishops Veto and Deszery, Communist government puppeteers forced to resign from the Lutheran Church! Bishop Albert Bereczky, awarded the Hungarian Communists' Order of Labor, deposed from the Hungarian Reformed Church! Bishop Janos Peter deposed also and labeled "the worst kind of Stalinist"! The editor of the Communist Hungarian Church Press resigned and a new paper titled "Reformacio" was begun! The officers in the State Office for Church Affairs lost their jobs when the office was abolished!

- **November 14, 1956:** The Christian Century forced to admit that these very same Hungarian Communist church leaders, who were exposed by the American Legion in 1954, and now deposed by the Hungarian people, were "false bishops" and "foisted" on the Hungarians by the Communist Government.

- *The Hungarian church people, however, enjoyed but a few brief hours of freedom. The Russians moved into the picture by invading the country, massacring large sections of the population, destroying public buildings, including churches and hospitals. It is anyone's guess as to what has happened to the genuine Christian church leaders who were restored to their rightful positions by the people after the Communist puppet clergymen had been deposed.*

Have the Soviets restored the Communist church leaders to their positions? What has happened to the true shepherds of the flock?

No one seems to know.

EPILOGUE

National and World Council leaders frantically sent cables to Metropolitan Nicolai of Russia asking him to use his influence to stop "the bloodshed and oppression in Hungary." Nicolai sends hypocritical message back saying, "Our Government (the U.S.S.R.) is giving material aid to those who suffer in Hungary and we shall devotedly and unceasingly labor for peace." This is the same "Government" which sent its armored might into Hungary and slaughtered thousands of Hungarians. This sounds like "material aid!"

How long will it take for these "be kind to Communists" clergymen of the United States to wake up to the fact that you can't do business with the Communists?

- **December 1, 1956:** Chicago Tribune writes full length editorial entitled, "Bishop Peter's Loud Silence." The Tribune recalls the visit of the Hungarian Communist clergyman to the World Council Meeting in Evanston and that many individuals and organizations in the United States opposed their visit. The Tribune states that Bishop Peter participated in the drafting of the World Council's Report on

the Christian witness in Communist countries. It says that leaders of both the World and National Councils have long cherished *illusions* about Communism and the possibility of religious freedom in Communist countries. It declares that Dr. Blake came back from Moscow last March talking *nonsense* about the position of the churches in Russia. In the light of the Russian onslaught against Hungary the Tribune hopes for Dr. Blake's progressive enlightenment.

Judging from past experience, we wonder if this is too much to hope!

We now see the National and World Councils of Churches in the United States "getting in on the act" for Hungarian relief. These are the same men who hobnobbed with the persecutors of the people!

Strangest spectacle of all—Garfield Bromley Oxnam, who accepted a degree from these same Red Church leaders in September, 1955 in Hungary, stated on November 29, 1956 in Wilmington, Delaware, at a meeting of the Wilmington District of the Methodist Church, that these men were "puppets and he had come to know them over recent years and expected their rejection when the time was right."

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News and Views

Eternal Vigilance Is Forever The Price Of Freedom

Vol. 20, No. 2

Wheaton, Illinois

February, 1957

Spawning Ground For Communism

Three world famous institutions are adjacent to one another within a single square block of Morning-side Heights, New York City. They are: Columbia University, The Rockefeller (Riverside) Church and Union Theological Seminary. All three have exchanged speakers for many decades. Countless thousands have been educated at Columbia and Union and have gone out to assume top positions in ecclesiastical and secular fields. The influence and prestige of their graduates is said to be second to none in present day American life.

The New York State Report

● In 1919 the New York State Government appointed a committee made up of members of both houses of the State Legislature known as the Joint Legislative Committee of the State of New York Investigating Seditious Activities. This Committee was headed by the distinguished Senator Clayton R. Lusk and is familiarly referred to today as the Lusk Committee. This Committee produced one of the most exhaustive works on revolutionary radicalism which has ever been produced by State or Federal Government. The full report consists of four volumes numbering over 4,000 pages.

In part 1, volume 1 of this report we read as follows on pages 1,115-1,116:

"There are two dangerous centers of Revolutionary Socialist teaching of a university type in ecclesiastical institutions. One is the Union Theological Seminary of New York, where Christian Ethics are taught by Dr. Harry F. Ward. . . .

"Dr. Ward is the author of 'The New Social Order', in which he shows decided sympathy for socialist social forms and is friendly to Bolshevism in Russia. He also wrote 'The Labor Movement', which contained addresses delivered before the Boston School of Theology (where Bishop Oxnham was his secretary and pupil), when he was Professor of Social Science at that institution. He expressed in it approval of the I.W.W. It is reported in a recent issue of the National Civic Federation Review that he gave his endorsement to the new gospel of Bolshevism which he considers a spiritual movement replacing the outworn Christianity of the Russian Orthodox church. He characterized the cognate 'I.W.W. philosophy' as the most ideal and practical Christian philosophy since the days of Jesus Christ, and as expressing the

ideas of Christ much more closely than any church of the present day.

"The activities of Dr. Ward, as shown in other parts of this report are entirely consistent with this point of view. He is chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union which champions the I.W.W., and presided over the I.W.W. meeting of February 9, 1920, held at the Rand School, to raise money for the defense of the I.W.W. murderers of the four members of the American Legion at Centralia. He has also been prominent in numerous pacifist and radical societies such as the 'Fellowship of Reconciliation', the 'Emergency Peace Conference', and 'Peoples Council', the 'Liberty Defense Union'.

"The pro-Bolshevik articles which Dr. Ward contributed to 'The Social Service Bulletin' of the Methodist Federation for Social Service (known now as Social Action) were considered particularly objectionable because the Bulletin was circulated not only by the Methodist church, but by the Congregational, Northern Baptist and other organizations. They call attention to Dr. Ward's textbooks circulated by the 'Graded Sunday School Syndicate'. Dr. Ward is also connected with the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., and the Interchurch World Movement."

H. R. No. 136

● In the government publication known as House Document No. 136 entitled "One Hundred Things You Should Know About Communism", page 42, is found the following: Question No. 82.—Do Communist propagandists ever actually get before church groups as speakers?

The Answer—Yes. For example the head of the communist party, on one occasion at least, spoke at the Union Theological Seminary in New York City.

Earl Browder, Guest Speaker

● In the American Mercury magazine for July 1953 is found an article entitled "Reds and our Churches" by Dr. J. B. Matthews, nationally recognized authority on subversion. Dr. Matthews has the following to say about Union Theological Seminary:

"While he was still head of the communist party in the United States, Earl Browder made a speech to the students of Union Theological Seminary in New York City in which he said: 'You may be interested in knowing that we have preachers, preachers active in churches, who are members of the communist party.' Although Earl Browder is hardly to be believed under oath, there is overwhelming evidence

that he spoke the truth to the seminary students on this particular point.

"Browder went on to explain to the budding clergymen of the seminary that the communist party allowed a certain ideological latitude to the Protestant ministers who joined the Kremlin's conspiracy. 'There are churches in the United States,' he said, 'where the preachers preach communism from the pulpit in a very primitive form, of course. In one particular church service described to me, the substance of the sermon . . . was that the Communists were the angels of God that had been sent like Moses to lead the people from the wilderness while the representatives of the devil were the capitalists and their agents. This, of course, is not an expression of the official communist attitude on these questions. As you will understand: but we do not expel such people from the party. The test for us is whether such people represent the social aspiration of the masses, which may take on a religious form but which are essentially social rebellion. When such is the case, we welcome them into our party.'"

Applause

● This is certainly a fine situation! The head of the communist party of the United States is a guest speaker at Union Theological Seminary and tells the students that there are communist preachers throughout the country. According to observers who attended this particular session at Union, when Mr. Browder finished his address he was given resounding applause by the student body and faculty members.

Dr. Ward Makes Communist Policies

● In recent testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities by former top policy making members of the communist party in the United States of America, the names of Union Theological Seminary and Dr. Harry F. Ward are brought into the testimony time and time again by the witnesses. In H.R. document entitled "Investigation of Communist Activities in the New York City Area", page 2076, is found the testimony of Benjamin Gitlow, original organizer of the communist party in the United States; its candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the United States in 1924; and its candidate for the Presidency of the United States in 1928. Mr. Gitlow identifies the Rev. Harry F. Ward, not only as a Professor in Union Theological Seminary, but also as one high in the councils of the Methodist Episcopal church. He, and other witnesses during this hearing, tell us that Dr. Harry F. Ward was not only Professor of Christian Social Ethics at Union Seminary for twenty-five years but *was also one of the top policy making members of the communist party in the United States.* Mr. Gitlow, Manning Johnson, and Leonard Patterson reveal that Dr. Ward helped formulate the policies of the communists in this country which have weakened the American government, and that he even made a trip to Moscow in 1925 and from there went on to China and began to sow the seeds of communism in China as far back as 1926.

The Rev. Webber

● On page 2085, Mr. Gitlow is discussing, under oath, the role which the Methodist Federation for Social Action played in furthering the communist cause. He mentions that it collaborated very closely with well established communist front organizations. He declares that Dr. Ward was not only an official of the communist party but that he was also an

official of the American League against War and Facism and the Methodist Federation for Social Action. Dr. Ward was not the only one. Gitlow testifies that there were many officials of the Methodist Federation who held important posts in the American League against War and Facism. "One of them was the Rev. Charles C. Webber, an instructor in the *Union Theological Seminary* and co-secretary of the Methodist Federation with Dr. Ward."

"A Revolutionary god"

● On page 2185 Mr. Gitlow gives us further information in regard to the Rev. Charles C. Webber. In the Social Questions Bulletin of November 1946, the official publication of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, there is an article entitled Religion and Labor by the Rev. Charles C. Webber in which Mr. Webber outlined a program based upon the class struggle. Mr. Gitlow said, "Rev. Webber contends that big business is struggling for profits and power, causing poverty amidst potential plenty, while labor is struggling for security, peace, and freedom, that, of course, is the Marxist, the Communist contention. *Rev. Webber wants a revolutionary god to change our society into a planned society, into communism.*"

"Rev. Webber's Marxist, pro-Communist orientation was not a secret which he kept to himself. He played too prominent a role in Communist-front organizations. Because of his various activities, Rev. Webber became one of the most controversial figures in the Methodist Church. He left his position as executive secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Action to become an organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, at a time when the Union cooperated closely with the Communist Party, and when its president, the late Sidney Hillman, collaborated with the Russian unions in perfecting an international labor federation into which to enroll the world's labor unions, thereby putting them under the hegemony of the Communists. Rev. Webber became director of the Virginia CIO-PAC, when its national organization, the CIO Political Action Committee, was honeycombed from top to bottom with Communists, Soviet spies, and fellow travelers.

Oxniam To The Rescue

● "Rev. Webber's activities aroused the indignation of many members of the Methodist Church. Their protests were responsible for Rev. Webber's case being considered by the New York East conference of the church. Rev. Webber, dealing with these protests, in the hearing given him, wrote, as follows, in the Social Questions Bulletin, of December 1946:

'After I presented my reasons for being kept in the active relationship, the Committee unanimously adopted a motion that they approve Bishop Oxniam's continuance of me in active ministerial relationship. Whereupon Bishop Oxniam appointed me as Chaplain to organized labor.'

"Bishop Oxniam was vice-president of the Methodist Federation for Social Action when he appointed Rev. Webber, in spite of the many protests against him, an official chaplain of the Methodist Church to organized labor."

Patterson's Testimony

● The next witness to appear before the Committee on Un-American Activities during its investigation of Communist Activities in the New York City area was Leonard Patterson. Mr. Patterson was a former member of the Young

Communist League and of the Communist Party. He went into the Party in the Fall of 1928 and came out in 1937. He was one of the top policy-makers of the Party and one of the Party organizers in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and the District of Columbia. Since Mr. Patterson left the Party he has been giving valuable testimony to Government committees, boards, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

On page 2138 Representative Gordon Scherer of Ohio, himself a Protestant churchman, is asking questions of Mr. Patterson as follows:

Mr. Scherer: "Let me ask, did you ever know in your Communist Party a Rev. Harry F. Ward?"

Mr. Patterson: "Yes."

Mr. Scherer: "Did you know him well?"

Mr. Patterson: "Yes. I worked with him."

Mr. Patterson then asserted that Dr. Harry F. Ward was not only a member of the Communist Party but was assigned to the top fraction of the Party, or as Mr. Patterson says, "In other words a top-policy making body of the Communist Party." He affirms that in 1935 in Chicago he and Dr. Harry F. Ward of Union Theological Seminary worked together in a top fraction meeting of the Communist Party. This was a meeting which only selected top Communist Party members could attend—a policy-making body.

● Mr. Robert Kunzig, Chief Counsel of the Committee, continued the questioning of Mr. Patterson in regard to the Chicago Communist meeting as follows:

Mr. Kunzig: "Rev. Harry F. Ward was present?"

Mr. Patterson: "He was present and an active member of that body."

Mr. Kunzig: "Therefore you know Rev. Harry F. Ward as a member of the Communist Party, as a very important member of the Communist Party?"

Mr. Patterson: "Yes."

Mr. Scherer: "As far as you know, at the time you left the Party, he was still a member of the Party?"

Mr. Patterson: "Yes."

Recruiting Party Members

● On page 2142 of this testimony there is one of the most startling pieces of information which has yet come to light in regard to the extent to which Communism had penetrated Union Theological Seminary. Mr. Robert Kunzig questioned Leonard Patterson further:

Mr. Kunzig: "I would like to ask you one question further. Did you ever see any examples of young ministers sent out to churches by the Union Theological Seminary who were Communists?"

Mr. Patterson: "Yes."

Mr. Kunzig: "Would you describe that to the Committee?"

Mr. Patterson: "Yes. While I was in Baltimore, two members who had graduated from Dr. Ward's seminary came down to Baltimore for assignment to their ministerial duties. At the same time, they came for assignment for their Communist duties from the section committee of the Baltimore section of the Communist Party. They were Party members when they got there. They explained that they were recruited as Party members by Dr. Ward while they were studying under him."

Ministers Identified

● At the time this particular testimony was given to the Committee on Un-American Activities the names of the two

ministers were not mentioned. This was in July 1953; however, on Thursday, March 25, 1954, the Committee conducted a hearing in Baltimore and the names of the two ministers who were recruited for the Communist Party while they were studying under Dr. Ward were revealed to the American public.

The Chicago Tribune for Friday, March 26, 1954, Part 1, Page 5, gives us the following account:

PASTOR ADMITS HE LIED ABOUT RED PARTY TIES

Tells Of Joining While In Chicago

By PHILIP DODD

Washington, March 25—A former Chicago minister told the House Un-American Activities Committee today that he lied when he testified last December he had never been a Communist.

The Rev. Joseph S. Nowak, former pastor of the Portage Park Presbyterian Church of Chicago, said he joined the Communist Party in 1946 while working at the University of Chicago Settlement House. He said he quit the party after four months.

The Polish-born Nowak was a witness in the Committee's investigation of Communist activities in Baltimore in the mid-1930's and the part other witnesses have said he and another young minister, John A. Hutchison played in the party's drive to stir up trouble on the city's waterfront and in its industries.

The Rev. Hutchison before the committee a week ago, denied having anything to do with the Communists and communist-front organizations when he was in Baltimore. He is now a Congregationalist minister in Williamstown, Massachusetts, and an instructor in religion at Williams College.

But the Rev. Nowak and two witnesses who said they had been Communist Party officials in Maryland and the District of Columbia testified the Rev. Hutchison had helped organize Communist-front activities in Baltimore, worked closely with communist officials, and had attended at least one communist meeting.

The Rev. Nowak said he had been trying to forget about his Communist Party membership for eight years, and that when he testified in November he felt it safe to ignore that affiliation. He said that when he learned of what the former Communist officials had testified, he decided to make a clean breast of it.

The Baltimore activities of the Rev. Nowak and the Rev. Hutchison were described by Earl C. Rano, Communist party organizer in Baltimore from 1936 to 1937, and Leonard Patterson, Young Communist League director in Baltimore during the same period.

Reno said the Rev. Nowak and the Rev. Hutchison came to Communist Party headquarters in 1935 and said they had just graduated from the Union Theological Seminary in New York where they had been well grounded in Marxism.

RSV Frontiers

● On September 30, 1952 amid great fanfare, the Revised Standard Version of the Bible, copyrighted by the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., was presented to the American public.

On the flap of the jacket covering the New Bible is carried the following statement: "The members of the committee since 1937, listed in order of the date of appointment with indication of their assignments to the Old Testament and New Testament sections are:" There then follows a list of 22 names. Of the twenty-two names, four are from Union Theological Seminary in New York City. They are: Julius A. Bewer, James Moffatt, Frederick C. Grant, and James Muilenburg. Of these four, Moffatt and Grant have been connected with subversive organizations in the past.

Union's Lyons

● On March 2, 1953 the Permanent Sub-Committee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations, United States Senate, was conducting hearings on the State Department Information Program, particularly that phase

of the program known as the Voice of America. The committee had before it as a witness one Roger Lyons who was identified as the Director of Religious Programming of the Voice of America. Information had been given to the committee to the effect that Roger Lyons was an atheist. Mr. Lyons stated that he did not belong to any affiliated church organization. He said he did not attend any house of worship regularly. When asked by the chairman how much he had contributed to church work over the last five years Mr. Lyons said he had given ten dollars to one church in his neighborhood.

The chairman asked Mr. Lyons if he did not think that a man who was in charge of Religious Programming for the Voice of America might do a better job if he belonged to some church himself and were a regular church-goer. Mr. Lyons answered: "Not necessarily."

Senator Jackson asked the witness: "Have you had any religious education?"

Mr. Lyons: "My religious education was not of a formal kind: I am Jewish by background. I studied religion at Columbia University in connection with writing my philosophical thesis."

Senator Jackson: "Did you major in religion?"

Mr. Lyons: "No. I majored in philosophy."

Senator Jackson: "You are head of the Religious Desk of the Voice of America. What particular qualifications did you feel that you had that would be helpful in view of this important assignment?"

Mr. Lyons: "I was about to tell you."

Senator Jackson: "Will you proceed?"

Mr. Lyons: "In connection with my thesis *I studied religion in Union Theological Seminary, which is a branch of Columbia University*. There I studied mostly under a Prof. Paul Tillich, who inspired me to become very, very interested in this whole subject, and I organized of my own volition and with his approval a seminar with Professor Tillich, who is a teacher of the philosophy of religion and systematic theology in Union, a seminar on religion at which he gave a weekly lecture at various times with some regularity over a period of 3 years."

Senator Jackson: "Is this in connection with your master's degree?"

Mr. Lyons: "This was entirely on my own initiative. It happens to be that Professor Tillich was one of my advisers in connection with my thesis, but this further work was because of my own spontaneous interest in the spiritual factors."

Senator McCarthy: "Could you tell us something about that thesis, in that you indicated that you believed in a Divine Being, or did you indicate that you did not?"

Mr. Lyons: "I did not indicate either that I believed in a Divine Being or that I did not, because the thesis had to do with an attempt to discuss the meaning of certain words, and the clarification of certain statements, in order that a principle of moral value might be stated, which might or might not be acceptable. It was not a question of belief."

One-Man School(?)

● This product of Union Seminary then told the Congressional Committee that he went to Switzerland and studied psychology and religion under Prof. Karl Jung from 1946 to 1948. He said, "It was the School of Analytical Psychology, if you want to have a name for it."

The Chairman: "How many students attended?"

Mr. Lyons: "I was one of the first. At the time I came over after the war, there was no formal study at that time, but later."

The Chairman: "You were the first student?"

Mr. Lyons: "I was one of the first students to come over from America."

The Chairman: "You were the only student for a while?"

Mr. Lyons: "There wasn't any formal curriculum."

The Chairman: "Were you the only student in this field?"

Mr. Lyons: "There may have been others, but I don't know them."

The Chairman: "That is rather an unusual school with only one student?"

Mr. Lyons: "That increased with the time, because the war prevented a great many students."

The Chairman: "What is his religious background?"

Mr. Lyons: "His religious background, he is the son of a clergyman, and he has never professed himself as to any particular religious belief, but he has a great interest in the spiritual factors that are involved in analytical psychology or depth psychology, as it is sometimes called."

The Chairman: "This professor under whom you studied, as far as you know, does not go to any church or synagogue?"

Mr. Lyons: "I don't know."

The Chairman: "Well, now, if you studied with him, you are studying religion, I assume you would know."

Mr. Lyons: "I studied religion but not in connection with his churchgoing activities."

The Chairman: "If you were a one-man school, a one-man professor was teaching, studying religion, would you not be interested in knowing whether this man was affiliated with any church?"

Mr. Lyons: "As a matter of fact, I didn't study with him directly, because he was too busy to see me. . . ."

Our Tax Money Again!

● This information concerning the Director of Religious Programming of the Voice of America is startling, to say the least! Here is a man who studied for three years in Union Theological Seminary and wrote a thesis in which he said it was not necessary to express a belief in God. He came out of this seminary and went over to Europe to study in a so-called school in which he didn't meet any other students nor did he even see the professor! As one reads through this testimony it becomes more and more incredible as to how a man of this character could obtain such a high position in the State Department's Voice of America program and be paid by the American taxpayers!

"Very Confused"

● Following the testimony of this product of Union Seminary Mrs. Alice Patricia Shephard, an employee of the Voice of America, testified under oath that she had had discussions with Mr. Lyons concerning his religious philosophy. While they were both employed by the Voice of America and going together, Mrs. Shephard said: "I don't believe that he believed in God then. He was going through a very difficult period. He was going to an *analyst*, and he was very confused at the time." This was while he was head of the Religious Programming of the Voice of America! Evidently, Union Theological Seminary taught

nothing concerning God or Christ to this man who was to become the head of Religious Programming of the Voice of America and represent to the people in Iron Curtain Countries what we believe in the United States! Incredible!

Professor Pinkos

● There appeared in American Mercury magazine for November 1953 an article entitled, "Red Infiltration of Theological Seminaries" by Dr. J. B. Matthews. Dr. Matthews is an honor graduate of Union Theological Seminary of some years ago and knows the school and its faculty intimately. In his article one will find the name of Union Theological Seminary cropping up very frequently, with such names as George A. Coe, Harry F. Ward, Paul Scherer, Robert Hastings Nichols, and Arthur L. Swift, Jr., all members of Union's faculty at one time or another, involved in various Commie-front activities.

A Toast to Ward

● The Daily Worker for May 7, 1953, official mouthpiece of the Communist Party in the United States, devoted much space on page seven to a testimonial dinner given in honor of Union's Professor Emeritus of Christian Social Ethics, Dr. Harry F. Ward. Dr. Ward was described by the Daily Worker as "one of America's noblemen." Other press accounts of his testimonial banquet at the Hotel McAlpin listed a long array of notorious communists and fellow travellers who attended the gala affair and toasted Dr. Ward.

One Red's Influence

● The influence which one Communist-infiltrated theological seminary such as Union could have on the churches of America is best described by Manning Johnson, Government witness before the Committee On Un-American Activities investigating Communism in the New York City area in July 1953. Mr. Johnson was formerly a top policymaker of the Communist Party of the United States. He broke with the Party and has since testified before important Government boards, commissions and committees, as well as before the FBI.

On page 2278 Mr. Johnson testifies as follows:

"The communist leadership in the United States realized that the infiltration tactic in this country would have to adapt itself to American conditions and the religious makeup peculiar to this country. In the earliest stages it was determined that with only small forces available it would be necessary to concentrate communist agents in the seminaries and divinity schools. The practical conclusion, drawn by the Red leaders was that these institutions would make it possible for a small communist minority to influence the ideology of future clergymen in the paths most conducive to Communist purposes.

"In general, the idea was to divert the emphasis from the spiritual to the material and political—by political, of course, is meant politics based on the communist doctrine of conquest of power. Instead of emphasis toward the spiritual and matters of the soul, the new and heavy emphasis was to deal with those matters which, in the main, led toward the communist program of 'immediate demands'. These social demands, of course, were of such a nature that to fight for them would tend to weaken our present society and prepare it for final conquest by communist forces.

"The Communists had some small forces in the semi-

naries under the leadership of Harry F. Ward. These were quickly augmented by additional recruits siphoned into the divinity institutions by manipulations of Communist cells in the seminaries. This infiltration into seminaries was expedited by the use of considerable forces the communists had in educational institutions which were eligible for hire by divinity organizations.

"The plan was to make the seminaries the neck of a funnel through which thousands of potential clergymen would issue forth, carrying with them, in varying degrees, an ideology and slant which would aid them in neutralizing the anti-communist character of the church and also to use the clergy to spearhead important communist projects.

"Outright Treason"

● ● "This policy was successful beyond even Communist expectations. The combination of Communist clergyman, clergyman with a pro-Communist ideology, plus thousands of clergymen who were sold the principle of considering communist causes as progressive, within twenty years, furnished the Soviet apparatus with a machine which was used as a religious cover for the overall Communist operation ranging from immediate demands to actually furnishing aid in espionage and outright treason.

"Thus, one professor of divinity, lecturing to future clergymen, who in turn will preach to thousands of churchgoers, is, in the long run, more dangerous than 20 Red preachers singing the praises of Communism from the pulpit."

Capitalist Subsidies

● The Rockefeller Foundation, enriched by millions of dollars earned under America's Free Enterprise system, in 1954 gave Union Theological Seminary over a half million dollars, their largest grant of the year. Was this to aid in carrying out the program outlined by the Kremlin and which Mr. Johnson testified to under oath above?

In High Places

● How have so many of these Union Seminary graduates gotten into so many high places in the theological world and even into U. S. Government positions? The present Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, is a trustee of Union Seminary. Dulles was present at Amsterdam when the World Council of Churches was founded. Dulles was Chairman of the Federal Council's Just and Durable Peace Commission. Dulles was the chairman of the infamous Delaware Conference held at Ohio Wesleyan University in March of 1942 which called for World Government and which stated that "a new order of economic life is both imminent and imperative, either through voluntary cooperation within the framework of democracy or through explosive political revolution." This is the same Dulles who put Alger Hiss at the head of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace!

Smear Artist

● It might be well to keep in mind that the young man, Ralph Lord Roy, who recently authored the book, "Apostles of Discord," published by the Unitarian Publishing firm known as the Beacon Press in Boston, in which book he attempted to smear outstanding fundamentalist Christian leaders in the United States who object to the program of the National and World Councils of Churches, has been a student at Union Theological Seminary in New York for some

time, and his personal stationary has carried the address of Union Theological Seminary as his year-round headquarters. Within the past several years he has been in the employ of the notorious Fund for the Republic!

Ecumenicity

● Recently a news release from Boston stated that the National Council of Churches will build its permanent head-

quarters in New York City, and probably alongside of Union, Columbia and Rockefeller Church.

The old saying is still true: "Birds of a feather love to be ecumenical!" (1957 Revised Version).

★ ★ ★

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Eternal Vigilance Is Forever The Price Of Freedom

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PART ONE

Pacifism, Socialism, Communism, and the National Council of Churches

by

J. B. MATTHEWS

To Readers of NEWS AND VIEWS who have never met him before The Church League of America proudly presents our guest writer for this and subsequent issues the distinguished and famous Dr. J. B. Matthews, one of the greatest minds of our generation.

The current resurgence of militant pacifism in the churches is reminiscent of the anti-war agitation which followed the First World War in the 1920's and the 1930's.

The leadership of the National Council of Churches is deeply, if not officially, involved in the present-day agitation just as the leadership of the Federal Council of Churches was involved in the earlier phenomenon.

Today's militant pacifism dramatizes its appeals of urgency on the supposition that nuclear war will mean the total destruction of life on the planet.

The militant pacifists in the churches cannot be dismissed as a crackpot fringe. On the contrary, they constitute a respectable and highly influential group, as will be evident when their names are called. Their numerical strength, too, is significant.

In 1934, Kirby Page was probably the best known spokesman of the pacifists in the churches. Writing that year in the pages of *The World Tomorrow*, Page said: "Nearly 13,000 American clergymen have declared their determination not to sanction or participate in any future war, and more than 18,000 have repudiated capitalism, or rugged individualism as it prevailed in 1929. These facts are revealed by the 20,870 replies to a questionnaire sent out recently by representatives of 12 religious bodies." The pacifists among these clergymen represented 62 percent of the total, while those who went on record as advocates of socialism represented 28 percent.

With respect to the advocacy of socialism by clergymen, Kirby Page made the following statement which he italicized in his pacifist-socialist magazine: "Among all the trades, occupations, and professions in this country, few can produce as high a percentage of Socialists as can the ministry."

It has long been obvious that there is a close connection between the avowal of pacifism on the one hand and the advocacy of socialism on the other hand. *The World Tomorrow's* 1934 poll of students in theological seminaries revealed that 73 percent were pacifists and 49 percent were socialists.

It is not of record that newspaper editors or politicians considered that Kirby Page's findings with respect to the pacifist-socialist views of active clergymen and theological students constituted an attack upon the churches. Nineteen years later, however, when I wrote, on the basis of extensive research, that "at least 7,000 clergymen" had been supporters in one way or another of the Communist-front apparatus, there was a loud outcry from both newspaper editors and politicians. I propose to show in this present study that pacifism, socialism, and support of the Communist fronts go hand in hand, and that the leadership of the Federal and National Council of Churches has been deeply involved with all three. Despite Communism's central doctrine of violence, pacifists have not displayed any reluctance in supporting the objectives and organizations of the Communist conspiracy. And despite the frequent claims that socialism is a "third force" which serves as a bulwark against Communism, the religious advocates of socialism have supported the Communist apparatus in large numbers.

In reporting the results of its poll in 1934, *The World Tomorrow* listed the names of 120 clergymen who declared that they were socialists, i.e., advocates of "Socialism as represented by the Socialist Party of America, or by a new and more inclusive alignment, in which the present Socialist Party would be included"—which was the precise language of the questionnaire. Exactly 5,879 of the replying clergymen stated that as their position. The names of only 120 were published, apparently as examples.

A check of the records of these 120 avowed socialists shows that 65 of them had affiliations with Communist fronts in the years which followed.

In the list of 120, there were 20 who took their theological training at Union Theological Seminary, an institution noted for radicalism in both theology and politics. Kirby Page found that, of the Union Theological Seminary students who filled out his questionnaire, 92 percent were avowed pacifists and 55 percent were socialists.

Highly significant is the fact that 45 of the 120 avowed socialists listed by *The World Tomorrow* have been officers of the Federal-National Council of Churches. These 45 included the following: Methodist Bishop Francis J. McConnell, president of the Federal Council of Churches (1928-1932); Methodist Bishop William C. Martin, president of the National Council of Churches (1952-1954);

Methodist Bishop James C. Baker; Methodist Bishop Hazen G. Werner; Evangelical United Brethren Bishop A. R. Clippinger; and Cameron P. Hall, currently the executive director of the Department of the Church and Economic Life (National Council of Churches). Other noted clergymen in this same category included John C. Bennett, E. Stanley Jones, and Reinhold Niebuhr.

THE WORLD TOMORROW

The role of the magazine, *The World Tomorrow*, can hardly be exaggerated when it comes to enumerating the propaganda media of pacifism and socialism in the Protestant churches.

For some 17 years, *The World Tomorrow* carried the propaganda torch of pacifism and socialism at the head of the leftwing procession of Protestant clergymen. It was second to none as the recognized and respected spokesman of socialism within the churches.

On its masthead, *The World Tomorrow* named Norman Thomas as its "founder." Throughout the 17 years of its publication, Norman Thomas was connected officially with the magazine.

Methodist Bishop Francis J. McConnell, president of the Federal Council of Churches, was one of the contributing editors of *The World Tomorrow*.

The Rev. Samuel McCrea Cavert, who was general secretary of the National Council of Churches, was one of contributing editors of *The World Tomorrow* at the peak of its influence.

Cavert's reign in the Federal-National Council of Churches lasted for a whole generation. More than any other single individual in the entire history of the Federal-National Council, Cavert is entitled to be known as its organizing genius. When he retired from the general secretaryship of the National Council of Churches on February 1, 1954, at the age of 65, he became executive secretary, for the United States, of the World Council of Churches. He holds the latter position today.

Reinhold Niebuhr, the eminent theologian, was one of the triumvirate of editors of *The World Tomorrow*.

PACIFISM IN THE PROTESTANT CHURCH

Pacifism flourishes during the interludes of peace, between wars, and insofar as it tends to disarm the nation physically and morally it imperils the national security. In the interludes of war, between periods of peace, pacifist sentiment declines sharply. It is, therefore, a peace-time rather than a wartime phenomenon and danger. When the nation goes from peace to war or from war to peace, the large majority of pacifists execute a switch in the values to which they give priority. In the exigencies of peace, they give preservation of life top billing on the list of values; while in the exigencies of war, they assign the preservation of liberty to the position of ethical priority. In both peace and war, sentiment rather than reason is the controlling force among pacifists.

It is a phenomenon worthy of note that pacifists look upon war rather than Communism as the mass killer of the 20th Century, although it is Communism rather than war which has been, on a strictly statistical basis, the more destructive of human life in this era of human history. Wholly illogical as it is, pacifists have never exhibited the capacity for incisive moral judgment which would lead them to any clear-cut or extensive anti-Communist activity. On the contrary, the record shows that pacifists by and large are anti-anti-Communist or pro-Communist. This is amply demonstrated by the large number of militant pacifists who have aided and abetted the Communist-front apparatus.

The same pacifism which salves the social conscience of the sentimental American clergyman serves a wholly different purpose for the Kremlin conspirators. Pacifism on the part of Americans is enthusiastically encouraged by the Communists for the simple reason that it becomes a Fifth Column to aid in the Soviet conquest of the United States. Pacifism on the part of Russians is punishable by death or at least by exile to an Arctic slave-labor camp.

SOCIALISM IN THE CHURCHES

All values and virtues have their opposites. Hate is the antonym of love. Falshood is the antonym of truth. And socialism is the antonym of charity.

Charity, said by the Apostle Paul to be the greatest of all virtues, is in essence a voluntary redistribution of wealth. If that be true, then socialism is the preeminent vice, for socialism is in essence the forcible seizure of one man's goods or services for the purpose of giving them to another whose claim to them is valid only because the predatory state has the necessary police power to enforce an involuntary redistribution of wealth. Under whatever name the transaction is carried out, whether it be social security or the general welfare, the forcible redistribution of wealth by a plundering government is legalized larceny.

Charity is the noblest of human impulses; while socialism, regardless of the motives of its individual supporters, is wholesale robbery of the few for the alleged benefit of the many.

The Christian pulpit, dedicated presumably to instill the better impulses in men, has in thousands of instances been perverted to encourage the meanest of vices.

The movement toward complete collectivism which has been the chief characteristic of the American scene for the past 25 years has not been accidental. We have moved toward socialism as the direct result of purposeful activity. The United States has not stumbled into the socialist morass as a blind man stumbles into the path of a motor vehicle when his seeing-eye dog deserts him.

A major force in the advance of socialism in the United States has been the Protestant pulpit. The Federal Council of Churches (1906-1950) and its successor, the National Council of Churches (1950-1958), have contributed more to the extension of socialism than the Socialist Party itself. As the Protestant clergy has taken over, the Socialist Party has dwindled into total insignificance.

TODAY'S PACIFIST-SOCIALIST SPUTNIKS

It has been necessary to deal at some length with the historical and theoretical aspects of the pacifist-socialist agitation in the Protestant churches in order to provide a background for the present-day activity of the ecclesiastical pacifists, socialists, and Communist fronters.

The mere listing of the names of currently active organizations engaged in this agitation will indicate something of the extent and variety of the phenomenon. Propaganda outfits in this field of radicalism include the following: Methodist Federation for Social Action, Episcopal League for Social Action, Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches, Walk for Peace Committee, Committee for Non-Violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons, American Friends Service Committee, National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, Church Peace Mission, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship, Jewish Peace Fellowship, Baptist Pacifist Fellowship, Brethren Service Commission, Disciples Peace Fellowship, Congregational-Christian Pacifist Fellowship, Evangelical and Reformed Peace Fellowship, Lutheran Peace Fellowship, Friends Peace Committee, Friends General Conference, Mennonite Central Committee, New Church Pacifist Fellowship, Fellowship of Methodist Pacifists, Unitarian

Protestant Fellowship, Southern Presbyterian Peace Fellowship, and Peace Fellowship of Presbyterians (USA).

The striking similarity in the names of these pacifist organizations. The recurrence of certain words in their constitutions. The nature of their work. The fact that they are all part of the same movement. The fact that they are all part of the same movement. The fact that they are all part of the same movement.

ABRAHAM JOHANNES MUSTE
The key figure in all of this pacifist-socialist activity in the United States is A. J. Muste, ordained clergyman of the United Presbyterian Church, USA.

A. J. Muste's title indicates his importance in the movement which aims to strip the United States of its defense. He is secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, an organization of pacifist groups. He is editor of the magazine *Liberation*, an official publication of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. He is secretary of the Church Peace Mission, chairman of the American Forum for Socialist Education, member of the advisory committee of the Congress of Racial Equality, national chairman of the Walk for Peace Committee, sponsor of the Greater New York Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, and member of the Committee for Non-Violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons.

Muste was a member of the Department of Internal Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of Churches. His official connection with the FCC is recorded in the *Bimonthly Report* of 1948 (page 190). The date is significant because A. J. Muste already had behind him a long career of extreme radicalism. Abraham Johannes Muste was born in January, 1885, in a small town in the Province of Zealand in the Netherlands. When he was a small boy, his parents migrated to Grand Rapids, Michigan. He graduated from Hope College, in 1913, he received a B.D. degree from Union Theological Seminary, the institution which holds the all-time record for sending leftist radicals into the leadership of the Protestant churches.

In order to understand the leftist character of the present-day pacifist agitation in the churches, a sketch of A. J. Muste's career will be illuminating. In the late 1920's and early 1930's, A. J. Muste was head of Brookwood Labor College at Katonah, New York. This institution was repudiated by the American Federation of Labor on the grounds of its Communist leanings. While a head of Brookwood Labor College, Muste founded the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. At the top of its letterhead, the CPLA carried the following as its purpose:

The Conference for Progressive Labor Action is an organization of militants which roots itself in American soil and seeks to face the realities of American life. It helps the workers in their daily struggles for bread and justice, against official intrigues. Yellow-Dog contracts and official intrigues. It seeks to stimulate in the existing and potential labor organizations a progressive, realistic, militant labor spirit and activity. It aims to inspire the workers to take control of industry and government, abolish the present capitalist system and build a workers' republic, and an economic system operated for the benefit of the masses and not of the few.

A. J. Muste was a member of the Anty-Soviet Committee for the United States Congress Against War, American League Against War and Fascism.

According to the *Daily Worker*, May 3, 1933, A. J. Muste was a member of the Executive Committee of the National Socialist Action Committee. In 1934, the Communist Party set up an auxiliary of the Party which was known as the National Committee to Aid the Victims of German Fascism. A. J. Muste was National Chairman of this Communist organization. In 1934, A. J. Muste was national chairman of the Workers Party of the U.S., a Communist party formed by the merger of the Communist League of America and the American Workers Party.

The Declaration of Principles made it crystal clear that the merged party was a real Communist party. With respect to the ideological foundation of the new party, the Declaration of Principles said:

The Workers Party of the U.S. is founded on the great principles of revolutionary theory and the practice stated by Marx and Lenin and tested by the experience of the class struggle on an international scale, above all in the Russian Revolution of 1917 (the "October Revolution"). The Workers Party conceives as its duty the realistic application of these principles to the present historical situation. Since its primary task is the defeat of the enemy at home — the overthrow of the capitalist government of the United States — the Workers Party will seek, first and foremost, to demonstrate to the working class of the U.S. and its allies that the application of the sole principle of revolutionary Marxism is the solution means for the fulfillment of their historical needs and interests. Under the heading of "Congress of Power," A. J. Muste and his fellow Communists adopted a program for "taking power" which was a melodramatic reiteration of Lenin's Workers' Councils. But the Workers Party of the U.S. was undisturbed Leninism without a Lenin, although Bolsheviks said. Here's what they said:

The fundamental mass instrument of this struggle for power will be the Workers' Councils (Soviets). The Workers' Councils are the organs which mobilize the workers for the revolutionary assault as well as the organization form of state power after the victory. It is through them, not through the existing governmental apparatus, that the workers will overthrow the capitalist class and take power only of capitalist minority, that the workers will abolish the capitalist state in order to render it incapable of counter-revolutionary activity and because it cannot serve as the instrumentally for establishing a new social order. Its place will be taken by the workers' state, based on the Workers' Councils. The workers' state, while assuring and continually extending far more genuine and substantial democratic rights to the masses than ever accorded to them under capitalism, will function as a dictatorship of the working class against its enemies. In 1937, A. J. Muste was a sponsor of the Communist-organized and Communist-dominated organization known before the Dies Committee in 1939, Earl Browder testified that the Consumers National Federation was a "transmission belt."

In 1940, A. J. Muste was a speaker for the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights, an organization which has been cited as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

A. J. Muste was a signer of the brief *amici curiae* presented to the U.S. Supreme Court on January 11, 1951, on behalf of the Communist Protestant Episcopal clergyman, William Howard Melish.

According to the *New York Times*, December 21, 1955, A. J. Muste initiated a Christmas amnesty plea for the Communists who had been convicted under the Smith Act. The plea was addressed to Eisenhower, urging commutation of all previous sentences and postponement of pending trials.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities, in its 1956 report entitled *Trial by Treason*, listed the name of A. J. Muste as a supporter of clemency for the atom spies, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

A. J. Muste headed a delegation of observers who were invited to attend the sessions of the Communist Party's 16th National Convention, February 9-12, 1957.

In a statement prepared for the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover had the following to say about the "observers" who covered the Communist Party convention and about A. J. Muste in particular:

The Communists boasted of having "impartial observers" cover the convention. However, most of these so-called impartial observers were hand-picked before the convention started and were reportedly headed by A. J. Muste, who has long fronted for Communists and who recently circulated an amnesty petition calling for the release of Communist leaders convicted under the Smith Act. Muste's report on the convention was biased, as could be expected.

The report of A. J. Muste and his fellow observers, to which Mr. J. Edgar Hoover referred, contains the following:

Since reference has been made to these matters in the press and elsewhere, we wish to state that the sessions of the convention were democratically conducted with vigorous discussion of all matters brought to the floor. There were many indications that no individual or group was in a position to control the convention.

Of even greater significance is the statement of Muste and his fellow observers concerning the alleged "ferment in the Communist movement here and abroad." Their report says:

However, in view of the upheavals in Poland and Hungary, the open airing in the *Daily Worker* in recent months of wide divergences among CP leaders and members, and the conduct of the recent convention as we observed it, to suppose, as some apparently do, that the ferment in the Communist movement here and abroad is merely an elaborate stage effect and that nothing is really happening seems to us to fly in the face of the evidence.

Muste has described his present activity in the following words:

Thus in this summer of 1957 I am occupied with problems relating to the attitude of the churches toward nuclear war as that attitude may find expression in meetings of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches at New Haven; with plans for Gandhian action at the nuclear testing in Nevada when the Hiro-

shima anniversary rolls around, with hot discussion as to what the ferment in the Communist movement throughout the world may mean for peace and the possibility of a free society on earth, if maintenance of peace makes such a society at least a possibility. (*Liberation*, July-August, 1957, p.20)

Concerning Muste's "hot discussion as to what the ferment in the Communist movement throughout the world may mean for peace," the Communist Party's *Daily Worker* has devoted much favorable publicity. Most of this "hot discussion," predicated upon Muste's hot belief that the Communists have changed, or are about to change, their spots has taken place under the auspices of a new organization known as the American Forum for Socialist Education.

Favorable publicity for Muste has appeared in the following 1957 issues of the *Daily Worker*: January 7, 13, and 18; February 17 and 25; March 3 and 8; April 18, 25, 29, and 30; May 9, 12, and 13; and August 23.

A. J. Muste is national chairman of the American Forum for Socialist Education. Within a matter of hours after the launching of the AFSE, the *Daily Worker* hailed its appearance as "especially welcome" and observed that it "also includes two leading Communists." The editorial in this Communist Party newspaper pointed out that the formation of the AFSE was in line with the resolutions adopted at the national convention of the Communist Party in February, 1957.

The statement that the AFSE "also includes two leading Communists" was undoubtedly a reference to Albert Blumberg and Doxey A. Wilkerson. But, the AFSE included others who, if not dues-paying members of the Communist Party, are at least veteran supporters of the CPUSA, such as James Aronson, Derk Bodde, W. E. B. DuBois, Oliver Loud, Clifford T. McAvoy, John T. McManus, Russell Nixon, Harvey O'Connor, and H. H. Wilson.

In a letter to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, George Meany said:

American labor will shun like a plague this self-styled "American Forum for Socialist Education" which obviously was conceived and created in line with a decision adopted by the last convention of the Kremlin-controlled Communist Party in the United States.

A. J. Muste's Communists views, as expressed in the Workers Party of the U.S. and the Conference for Progressive Labor Action many years ago, might well be overlooked if in the meantime he had become a bona fide anti-Communist. But, his record as chairman of the American Forum for Socialist Education, his appeals on behalf of the Rosenbergs and the Smith Act defendants, and his attempts to whitewash the Communist Party as it is now constituted make it clear that his present-day views and interests are thoroughly in line with Communist Party objectives.

What are A. J. Muste's present-day views on the Soviet Union? If he looks upon the Kremlin's current boss as the world's greatest criminal conspirator against humanity, he carefully avoids saying so. On the other hand, we find that A. J. Muste clearly expressed his views on the Soviet Union in a series of five lectures delivered before the annual conference of the Episcopal Pacific Fellowship in August, 1957. In these lectures, Muste enumerated five recent alleged changes in Soviet policy and conditions, and then concluded, "These give hope." Hope for what? And hope to whom? The only hope of any significance would be the total destruction of the Soviet regime and the emancipation of its slaves, but Muste is not interested in any such hope.

CHURCH PEACE MISSION

In one of the dingiest and most untidy office rooms in the whole of Manhattan, an investigator may find one of the most important headquarters of present-day militant pacifism in this country. The Manhattan telephone book lists this room as the regional office of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and also as the headquarters of the Church Peace Mission.

From this room at 1133 Broadway, New York, N. Y., A. J. Muste released a document on April 21, 1958, which called for a halt to the Pacific nuclear weapons tests by the United States this summer. At the top of this press release, A. J. Muste was described as "secretary" for the 137 individuals whose names were listed as signers. Most of the signers are prominent Protestant clergymen.

Standing out among the signers of this Muste press release is the name of the Rev. Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg, president of the National Council of Churches.

Thirty-seven other names which have been recorded as officers of the Federal-National Council of Churches were listed as signers of the Muste press release issued under the auspices of the Church Peace Mission.

The following bishops of the Methodist Church are among the backers of A. J. Muste's "call" to halt nuclear weapons tests: Charles W. Brashares, Chicago; Dr. Stanley Coors, St. Paul; Eugene M. Frank, St. Louis; A. Raymond Grant, Portland, Oregon; John Wesley Lord, Boston; Edgar A. Love, Baltimore; and Glenn R. Phillips, Denver. Other noted backers included the following clergymen: Harry Emerson Fosdick, Ralph W. Sockman, Martin Luther King, and Albert Buckner Coe who has recently retired as Moderator of the Congregational Christian Churches.

Perhaps the most important thing about the Muste press release of April 21, 1958, was the extraordinarily large number of signers who are administrative heads of, or professors in, the leading theological seminaries of Liberal Protestantism. In the tabulation which follows, the name of the theological seminary will be given first. The name of the seminary will be followed by the denominational auspices of the institution in parenthesis. Then will follow the name of the professors and administrative heads of the theological seminary who signed the Muste press release.

Andover Newton Theological School (American Baptist Convention and United Church of Christ) — — Herbert Gezork, president, and Nels F. S. Ferre'.

Bethany Biblical Seminary (Church of the Brethren) — — William H. Beahm, dean.

Boston University School of Theology (Methodist Church) — — Walter C. Muelder, dean, Richard M. Cameron, Allan Knight Chalmers, Paul Deats, Jr., L. Harold DeWolf, and William Clifton Moore.

Butler University School of Religion (Disciples of Christ) — — Walter W. Sikes.

Drew University Theological Seminary (Methodist Church) — — William George Chanter, David M. Graybeal, and Franz Hildebrandt.

Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary (American Baptist Convention) — — Culbert G. Rutenber.

Eden Theological Seminary (United Church of Christ) — — Allen O. Miller.

Garrett Biblical Institute (Methodist Church) — — John C. Irwin, Murray H. Leiffer, A. W. Nagler, Ernest W. Saunders, Rockwell C. Smith, Harris Franklin Rall, and Tyler Thompson.

Harvard University Divinity School (Undenominational) — — Paul Lehmann.

Howard University School of Religion (Undenominational) — — William Stuart Nelson, dean.

McCormick Theological Seminary (Presbyterian Church, USA) — — George M. Gibson.

Oberlin College Graduate School of Theology (Undenominational) — — Walter Marshall Horton and George Michalides.

Pacific School of Religion (Interdenominational) — — Georgia Harkness.

Perkins School of Theology of Southern Methodist University (Methodist Church) — — Schubert M. Ogden.

Princeton Theological Seminary (Presbyterian Church, USA) — — John Alexander Mackay, president, William Brower, Arlan Paul Dohrenburg, Richard Shaull, and D. Campbell Wyckoff.

Southern California School of Theology (Methodist Church) — — Earl Cranston, dean.

Union Theological Seminary (Undenominational) — — John C. Bennett, dean, Robert F. Bench, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Paul W. Hoon, Ralph Douglas Hyslop, Mary Ely Lyman, Paul E. Scherer, Ralph W. Sockman, and Arthur L. Swift, Jr.

Vanderbilt University Divinity School (Interdenominational) — — James Phillip Hyatt and C. Everett Tilton.

Wesley Theological Seminary of American University (Methodist Church) — — Albert E. Day.

Yale University Divinity School (Undenominational) — — Roland H. Bainton, Kenneth Latourette, and John Oliver Nelson.

From the foregoing tabulation, it is apparent that leftwing pacifism has established an important beachhead in the leading theological seminaries.

Fifty of the 137 signers of the Muste press release are from the seminaries. Thirty-four of the 50 administrators and teachers from theological seminaries have been affiliated with Communist-front organizations and enterprises.

Out of the total of 137 signers, 75 have records of affiliation with Communist enterprises. In this fact, we have further evidence of the interlocking and overlapping of personnel among pacifists, on the one hand, and Communist frontiers, on the other hand. And both groups are overlapping with the officialdom of the Federal-National Council of Churches.

—(to be continued)—

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Eternal Vigilance Is Forever The Price Of Freedom

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Treason or Dupery?

By KARL BAARSLAG

The World Council of Churches, to which all American denominations adhere which are affiliated with the National Council of Churches of Christ, met this last August in Nyborg, Denmark. An official press release dated Aug. 22nd, which seems to have attracted little attention or comment, mentions that delegates from three Communist countries not only participated in the WCC's deliberations but held seats on its highest policy making body, the Central Committee.

The Constitution of the ecumenical WCC holds the gate wide open for the admission of "religious delegates" from the USSR and other Communist-cursed countries. With three Communist land representatives already safely inside the Central Committee of the WCC, the formal entry of Soviet religious leaders is not far away. Recent exchange delegations of Soviet and American clergy are obviously the forecasting shadows of events to come.

This naturally raises the whole question of Soviet official policy on religion. Nearly every week American clergymen return from the USSR enthusiastically reporting that they found "packed churches", "an inspiring re-birth of religion," and "absolute freedom of worship" in the land of Khrushchev and the secret police. Just what are the facts?

Everyone knows the history of Bolshevik persecution of all religions in Russia since 1917. In 1918 the Bolsheviks confiscated all churches and synagogues including their sacred religious objects and priceless libraries. This was fully three years before the Bolsheviks suppressed all other political parties and opposition elements. In other words the church was the first point of Communist attack.

All real estate, buildings, hospitals, homes for the aged, and poor, orphanages, convents, monasteries, seminaries, etc., became state property. Congregations were referred to as "cults" or "sects" and those which had managed to save some money were permitted to rent "prayer buildings" from the Soviet state.

Thousands of churches, mosques, and synagogues were converted into military barracks, stables, warehouses, granaries, or museums. Others were torn down to make way for roads, squares, or other buildings. Priests, ministers, rabbis, and mullahs were murdered by the thousands on trumped up charges or deported to a living death in Siberia. Many were driven into beggary and want or were forced to flee the country. The teaching of religion was forbidden. All church and religious publications were suppressed. No book, newspaper or periodical could be purchased without state approval and "books" naturally included the Bible. The open avowed aim of the Bolsheviks, never since repudiated, was to "drive capitalists from the earth and God from the sky."

Article 122 of the Criminal Code made the teaching of religion to children a crime punishable with one year of penal labor.

All Soviet schools (no others were permitted) taught atheism. For twenty years under Lenin, and later Stalin, the full weight of Communist terror was exerted through every media of repression to crush and extirpate all forms of religion and belief.

All religious bodies were compelled to register with the secret police which included delivering a list of all church members. Religious organizations and groups were forbidden to give any material support to their members or to organize any special meetings or religious instruction for children. Even medical aid to the sick, care of the poor, maintenance of church supported hospitals was prohibited. The all embracing Soviet state jealously assumed the sole prerogative of caring for its subjects. Priests and rabbis ministering to the sick or infirm could be and were sent to prison for usurping the functions of the state.

Indeed, from the very inception of Lenin's Soviet state, priests, ministers and rabbis were disenfranchised and denied all civil and elective rights. This pariah stigma was attached to the children of clergymen. They were generally denied access to education and most state jobs except the most menial and degrading. (Russian orthodox clergy were permitted to marry.)

With the death of Lenin in 1924 and the assumption of power by Stalin a new and highly ingenious tactic was devised by Stalin himself for the destruction of the church. Stalin had been a divinity student in his youth and knew the Orthodox church and its weaknesses from the inside.

STALIN'S "LIVING CHURCH"

The Soviet dictator hit upon a truly diabolic scheme of persuading pliant clergymen to "re-interpret" the Bible. Did not Jesus chase the money-changers from the temple? This could only mean that Christ was against capitalism and by His example had shown his disciples how to destroy it. Was not Jesus also on the side of the poor and lowly? This meant that He took the side of the proletariat against property and wealth. Did not He also teach brotherhood and sharing in everything? Obviously, Jesus was the first Communist.

Cowardly and venal priests eager to advance their own futures under the Soviet terror formed a cabal against Patriarch Tikhon, supreme head of the Russian Orthodox Church. They called their schismatic conspiracy "The Living Church." They also labelled themselves "progressives"

just like the turn-coat G.I.s thirty years later in Korea. As many church leaders had already been murdered, deported to living deaths in Siberia, were starving in the streets, or disappearing every night into the cellars of the G.P.U., priests with no stomach for martyrdom decided that discretion was the better part of valor and joined Stalin's "Living Church."

Patriarch Tikhon and his supporters were elbowed aside by the "progressives" in a swift coup in 1922. A number of hierarchs who persisted in defending the integrity of their ancient church were arrested, deported or executed. The progressive usurpers of the "Living Church" who testified falsely against their own church leaders in the '20's and helped railroad them to death or Siberia are today the top hierarchy of the Communist-controlled Russian Orthodox Church with whom some of our American clergy hob-nob and meet as moral and Christian equals!

Despite the new turn and apparent relaxation of total suppression and terror against clergymen, the parish stigma against men of God was not lifted. The Central Executive Committee of the USSR in 1928 reminded all election supervisors to check their registration lists to make certain that the following categories were permanently barred from all elective rights:

"Monks, lay brothers and sisters, priests, deacons, psalmists, mullahs, muezins, rabbis, kasis, cantors, shamans, Roman Catholic clergy, pastors, readers, and any others who carry on religious activity regardless of whether they receive pay or not."

While so-called "voting rights in Soviet Russia are an empty joke anyway, this regulation nevertheless relegated all religious workers to the same category as the insane, criminal, and mentally incompetent.

No media of communication was overlooked in the Soviet war on religion. Speakers, the radio, stage, films, the printed word, museums, exhibits, billboards and posters were all mobilized to deride and attack religious belief. Even playing cards were decorated so that hearts showed a Catholic priest lusting for a woman, diamonds ridiculed Jewish rites, spades showed the Orthodox church in a despicable light, and clubs ridiculed Buddhism and eastern religions. Foreign artists who appeared in Russia were admonished against singing or playing any numbers which had any religious connotation. Libraries, needless to add, were thoroughly and ruthlessly purged of every last book and pamphlet having the slightest religious content. Instead they were packed with a flood of atheistic literature.

Not content with direct open assault, the Communists went even further and set up special training schools or fake seminaries where secret police agents and trusted party members received training in church rituals and procedures so they could pose as clergymen and successfully infiltrate denominations which already had gone or might go underground. U.S. Naval Intelligence officers, on duty in Russia during the war, reported hob-nobbing with Orthodox priests in full regalia who, in their cups, gleefully boasted that they were secret police graduates of regular seminaries and were having a wonderful time bamboozling the "credulous and superstitious." So it might be observed that American clergymen presently hob-nobbing with what they fondly believe to be bona fide Russian Orthodox priests are not the first to be victimized by the Soviet Secret Police.

Yet, despite twenty years of severest repression, religion persisted in the hearts of the Russian people. A census in 1937 disclosed that more than half of the people still had the moral courage to state that they believed in God. Because many more millions undoubtedly were smart enough

to dissimulate or hide their true feelings the percentage of believers was probably much higher. The poll shocked and outraged the Communists. Persecution in every form was intensified and religion was practically driven back to the catacombs by the outbreak of World War II.

Then in April, 1939, religious persecution stopped suddenly and mysteriously. No laws were rescinded nor were any restrictive and punitive decrees revoked. Stalin had become apprehensive of imminent war on Soviet soil and possible revolt against his regime. He realized that faith in God and love of one's own country were two of the strongest human emotions. Patriotism was revived and anti-religious propaganda laid aside. Grossly vulgar and sacrilegious periodicals attacking religion were discontinued "because of shortage of paper." Anti-religious museums were quietly closed.

"PACKED CHURCHES"

An unofficial and secret concordat was hastily cooked up with Orthodox church leaders. The Orthodox Church was given permission to resume full religious services in such few churches as were still left standing and not otherwise used in exchange for the church's full support and endorsement of the Communist regime. Visiting American clergymen, whose own churches in this country are usually half or even a quarter filled, express great amazement and happiness to find Moscow churches "packed to the doors." The answer is quite simple as any child could reason out for himself. Eighty to ninety percent of all of Moscow's religious edifices were destroyed during the past forty years. No new churches were permitted to be built. With a population close to six million, "packing" and "jamming" of such few churches as are left hardly seems "miraculous."

MEET M.V.D. GENERAL KARPOV

An extremely valuable source of documented information on Soviet Secret police control of all religions in Russia is "The Soviet Secret Police" by Wolin and Shusser (Praeger, New York, 1957.) On page 23 will be found:

"A major phase of intellectual and social control assigned to the secret police during and after the war was the supervision of religion. This was a field in which the secret police had extensive experience, dating back to the days of the Cheka. For many years the official Soviet policy had been to eradicate religion entirely, as a harmful superstition alien to Marxism. Realizing during the war, however, that the long campaign to destroy religion had been a failure, and feeling the need to enlist the religious convictions of the population in the struggle against the German invaders, the Council of People's Commissars on September 14, 1943, established a Council for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church to maintain liaison between the Church and the government. To head the new body the Soviet government named G. G. Karpov, a secret police official who had specialized in the study of Orthodox theology and ritual. As of mid-1956 Karpov continued to head the council, and has proved himself indefatigable in helping the government and Party to keep a wary eye on the Church leaders. No important ceremony or interview involving high Church dignitaries is complete without Karpov's presence.

In May 1944 a parallel Council for the Affairs of Religious Cults was established to deal with religious bodies in the Soviet Union other than the Russian Orthodox Church. Its chairman, I. V. Polanski, has been

identified as a member of the Church Section of the OGPU in 1927.

As far back as 1928—30 years ago—a known GPU agent named Klechian had already advanced as far as Archbishop in the Russian Orthodox Church (Agabekoff—"The OGPU—Reminiscences of a Chekist.")

Vladimir Petrov, a top-ranking Soviet intelligence officer who defected to freedom a few years ago in Australia, has the following to say about alleged "religious freedom" and Karpov in his book "Empire of Fear" (Praeger, N.Y. 1957) page 97:

"The over-riding need for national unity in those desperate and critical days induced Stalin to bid for the positive support of even the religious leaders. With curious and characteristic cynicism he arranged a conference in the Kremlin, to which he invited the robed and bearded patriarchs and all the important dignitaries of the Russian Orthodox Church. At the conference there was also a certain Karpov. Now Karpov was a permanent career officer of the N.K.V.D. who, over a long period, had made an assiduous and exhaustive study of Russian Orthodox ceremonies, ordinances, and theological teaching, and was able to converse earnestly and learnedly with the church dignitaries on their own ground. At this conference Stalin suggested that the character and erudition of Karpov made him an ideal man to represent the Church on the Soviet Council of Ministers. His suggestion was applauded, and Karpov was appointed.

"I have seen Karpov. In 1951 he was Minister for Cults and Religious Affairs and may still hold that office. His N.K.V.D. training would be a valuable preparation for the post. After all, Stalin studied in a theological seminary."

On April 12, 1956, another high-ranking Soviet intelligence officer, Yuri Rastvorov, testified before the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee in Washington. Rastvorov had fled to freedom in Japan bringing with him a vast store of secret information on the internal operations of the M.V.D. or Soviet secret police which is really a state of itself within the Soviet state apparatus.

Rastvorov testified that Major General Karpov headed the so-called Religion section in the M.V.D. as well as chairmanship of the Religion Committee of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. The former M.V.D. officer then stated under oath:

"As you know, the church in the Soviet Union is not independent, as, at the present time, the Soviet government is trying to prove. It is completely dependent on the state, and the state conducts all activities of the church in the Soviet Union."

Mr. Rastvorov then revealed that the Orthodox church had been penetrated by secret MVD agents who had attended a special seminary posing as religious students. "These fake seminarians," Rastvorov testified, "later became bishops in many churches in Russia." In other words, gullible American clergymen so eagerly fellow-shipping with Soviet hierarchs and bringing them to this country, in all probability are playing footsy with hardened and cynical Communist criminals responsible for the murder of thousands of innocent Christian priests and ministers—to say nothing of millions of other Russians who perished during the past forty years from mass starvation, the purges, mass deportations to Siberia, and secret executions.

Stalin's cunning and cynicism paid off handsomely after Hitler's invasion of Russia in June, 1941. One of Hitler's first pronouncements was that Germany would restore full religious freedom in Russia. Metropolitan Sergius struck back the same day with a bull of excommunication against any Russian who aided the enemy. The Metropolitan also announced: "The Church of Christ blesses all Orthodox who are defending the frontiers of our Fatherland."

FLIM-FLAMMING THE GULLIBLE WEST

The pseudo restoration of religious freedom in Russia also was calculated to win friends and influence western governments to have greater confidence in and respect for the Soviets. Like the fake dissolution of the Communist International in 1943, the entire maneuver was simply one to flim-flam the West. Stalin and his ruling clique fully realized the weakness of the whole rotten Soviet structure rapidly falling apart under the massive assault of the Reichswehr. Without Western military and economic aid, the Soviets were doomed. Soviet persecution of all religions had deeply outraged the Christian world. A fake restoration of at least some "religious freedom" was therefore deemed a cheap price for billions of dollars of Lend-Lease supplies magnanimously promised by the United States.

With the end of the war and the Soviets no longer in danger, all wartime relaxations and temporary expedients to mollify and impress western Allies were quickly withdrawn. Komsomol members (young Communist youth) were sternly warned:

"The Komsomol has never regarded religion from a neutral angle. Anti-religious propaganda forms an integral part of Communist education. ... Komsomol members not only must be convinced atheists and opponents of all superstitions but must actively combat the spread of superstitions and prejudices among youth." (*Komsomolski Rabotnik* (Young Communist Worker) No. 11, June 1947, page 27.

Within the Communist Party itself, rigorous measures were taken to purge all religious believers from party ranks, first by direct, overt pressure and if that failed, by expulsion. As expulsion meant not only loss of possible work but also housing, rations, and other prerogatives, expulsion meant virtual beggary and starvation. In 1949 the Georgian Communist Party, for example, expelled 49 members for "manifestations of religiousness." (Zarya Vostoka (Dawn of the East) Jan. 28, 1949.)

The Bolshevik thirty year war on religion was ferociously revived in the schools. Teachers were warned to step up the tempo of inculcating "scientific Marxism" in order to counteract religious prejudices. The official organ of the Ministry of Education stated:

"The basic work in Communist education and the overcoming of religious survivals must be carried out by the school teachers in the process of teaching the foundations of the sciences. ... The basic task of Communist education and overcoming survivals of religiousness in our present condition is to prove to the pupils the complete contrast and complete irreconcilability between science—the real and correct reflection of the objectively existing world in the consciousness of the people—and religion as a fantastic, distorted, and consequently harmful reflection of the world." *Narodnoye Obrazovaniye* (Popular Edition), April 1949.

The same official Soviet publication also warned parents against giving their children any religious instruction at home, even though the home remained the only place where Soviet law had not already prohibited the teaching of religion. The law of 1929 and Article 122 of the Soviet Criminal code was quoted: "Instruction of any religious faith whatsoever is not allowed in state, public, or private educational institutions and schools. Such action is punishable by corrective labor for a period of one year."

The conversion of the Russian Orthodox Church into a pliable puppet has proven of inestimable value to the red gangsters in the Kremlin. Communists, above all else, are cold-blooded, cynical realists. When Stalin realized that the total extirpation of all religious belief in Russia would be a long, costly and perhaps even futile task he turned, as we have already explained, to another tactic which has paid off fabulous dividends.

Soviet church leaders, apparently enjoying complete freedom, acted as a bridge to, and strong connecting link with, the West. Their very existence was used by pro-Soviet apologists as "proof" that allegations of religious persecution in Russia were "vile anti-Soviet lies and slanders." Visitors to Moscow were free to inspect such few churches as still existed and here they naturally found "packed congregations." Orthodox clergy in full vestments and free control of their churches "proved" that there was full religious freedom in the U.S.S.R. The fact that some of these were really secret police agents graduated from seminaries and the rest brain-washed and terrorized captives of the Soviet state would hardly be inscribed on their vestments or the church's bulletin board. Nor would such visitors be familiar with the story of Prince Potemkin who gulled his empress on an inspection tour of a starvation area by setting up and overnight moving ahead of her fake villages of fat, happy and prosperous villagers. An American vice president was similarly film-flamed during World War II when he reported finding "sturdy independent colonists" in Eastern Siberia when he was conducted through a slave labor area.

PRESENT STATUS OF RELIGION IN RUSSIA

One of our most dependable sources on the present structure and laws of the U.S.S.R. is Kulski's monumental "The Soviet Regime—Communism in Practice" (University of Syracuse, 1954) On the alleged "freedom of religion in Russia" we find the following:

"Believers are permitted to worship according to the rites of their denomination but are forbidden to convert publicly atheists or members of other denominations. Soviet practice indicates that worship is barely tolerated by the State; even so, this toleration extends, truly, only to national churches like the Greek-Orthodox, which have no official and necessary connections with foreign communities and whose activities may, therefore, be kept restricted within the national boundaries of the Soviet Union. This toleration does not extend to other churches like the Catholic church. The national churches continue to exist on sufferance of the State whose controlling organization—the Party—is committed entirely to atheism. Article 13 of the Party program contains this statement: 'The All-Union Communist Party is guided by the conviction that only the realization of planned development and advances in all the social-economic activities of the masses will bring to pass the complete withering away of religious prejudices.' The Soviet State is not agnostic but militantly atheistic. A. Ya. Vyshinsky writes that the triumphant Soviet proletariat, guided by the Communist Party, 'has a negative attitude toward religion, carries the banner of militant athe-

ism, has initiated from the very earliest days a planned and decisive struggle with religion, and aspires, in the words of Marx, 'to liberate conscience from religious superstitions' . . . This being so, a believer cannot be considered a non-Party Bolshevik and is IPSO FACTO excluded from public offices and posts of trust . . .

Party hostility must continue, because "religious superstitions like other survivals of capitalism hinder in our Soviet country progress towards Communism . . . This is why the overcoming of religious superstitions is the indispensable condition of our successful march towards Communism."

The true reason is deeper, namely the ambition of the party to control completely the minds of Soviet citizens. The author of the pamphlet says frankly that the Party cannot remain neutral. "The church is separated from the State in our country. Religion of the Soviet man is his private affair. But it is not a private matter for the Bolshevik Party which educates the toilers in the spirit of the only scientific, the materialistic outlook." The Party relies now on anti-religious education rather than on administrative measures directed against religious communities. The author does not deny that open persecution has the opposite result of fortifying churches: "To forbid religious services would be very easy, but this would not accelerate elimination of religious superstitions; on the contrary, those superstitions would be notably revived." Having a monopoly of the means of public information and having forbidden religious propaganda, the Party has assured its anti-religious propagandists a privileged position in their atheist struggle against religion. The future will tell how successful this first attempt in history to impose atheism on a formerly deeply religious population will be . . .

Religious communities are the only associations which are refused juristic personality, and they may not, consequently, own property, act before courts, or conclude valid contracts:

The legal situation of religious communities is determined in detail by the decision of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of April 3, 1929 (with the subsequent modifications) concerning religious communities and by analogous decrees in the other Republics. According to those decrees, believers are allowed, for the satisfaction of their religious needs, to unite into religious communities (more than 20 members) or groups (less than 20 members). 'Buildings especially designated for worship and liturgical objects are gratuitously placed at the disposal of such communities for their use. Religious communities and groups have the right to hold meetings with the permission of local soviets. They elect from their membership organs in charge of the management of the liturgical property and of their external representation . . . Religious communities which are allowed to exist only for religious worship are not juristic persons and are not included among the associations of the toilers mentioned in Article 126 of the Constitution . . . Control over the activities of religious communities is exercised by local soviets. A church may be closed only by a decision of the soviets."

This description gives a good idea of the precarious situation of religious communities. The decree of January 23, 1918 nationalized all property of the churches. As they cannot acquire property, being deprived of the character of a juristic person, they do not own temples or usual objects of a cult. They are allowed only to use them while the title of ownership continues in the State. For the same reason they cannot build new churches. Furthermore, building materials are State property, and churches could not acquire them unless the atheistic State had some reason for allocating them the materials. Pre-revolutionary religious buildings are placed at the disposal of religious communities at the discretion of each local soviet, which may close a church at any time "in deference to the wishes of the toilers" whose "deputies" form the soviet. Religious communities are not included among public organizations mentioned in Article 126 of the constitution, and they are deprived thereby of the right

to nominate candidates for public office, Religious services may be held only with permission of the local soviet. The religious communities are also deprived of court protection, because they cannot defend their rights by judicial action, a prerogative of juristic persons."

In the titanic world struggle known as the "Cold War," that side which can identify itself with the defense of world peace obviously enjoys a tremendous psychological and propaganda advantage. Church leaders are, by their very calling, always in the forefront for international peace. Soviet churchmen naturally could work closely with and win the confidence of Western churchmen, a task which was clearly beyond the capacity of the atheistic commissars and Soviet officials. So the Soviet and Communist satellite clergy are ideally suited to act as Judas goats leading the sheep of the West to the red abattoirs of Communism.

SUMMATION. The history of the attempted destruction of all forms of religion and the persecution of Christianity in Russia is voluminous and irrefutable. The history of the infiltration and divisive tactic of the Living Church is well documented and established history. The evidence that such few "religious leaders" who are still permitted to function in Soviet Russia and its captive satellites are either theologically trained secret police agents or brainwashed and cowed tools of the Communist state is ample and convincing.

The record of blatant anti-American slanders and activity of Communist clergymen is a long and open one. Metropolitan Nicolai of the U.S.S.R., for example, added the prestige of his high office to the vicious germ warfare charges made against this country by Russia during the Korean conflict. For American clergymen to attempt to argue that Iron Curtain clergymen are still free agents is to argue a patent falsehood. If there is one irrefutable and long established fact about Communism it is that Communists, when they take over control, eradicate all opposition. For a clergyman to argue that Communist totalitarianism is not totalitarianism, in that it indulgently excepts clergymen and gives them a modicum of freedom, is obviously arguing nonsense.

Then why do so many American ministers still do it? American clergymen fronting for Soviet fake "church leaders," welcoming Hromadkas and Red Deans of Canterbury to this country, joining in every bogus "World Peace Movement" set up by Soviet confidence men, and in brief falling for every manner of Communist swindle and booby trap, break down into five general categories:

1. Truly sincere idealists and men of such purity and nobility that they are incapable of understanding or accepting the cold, hard, and ugly facts of Communist depravity, deception, and villainy. Numerically they naturally form a very small percentage of the total. But they unwittingly give the whole Communist conspiracy a wonderful protective cover and aura because their altruism, like gold leaf, can be hammered out thin enough to cover many thousands of far less worthy people than themselves.

2. Intellectual illiterates who have never read and do not want to be bothered or take the time to examine the record of world Communism in all of its aspects and manifestations. They are not interested in facts or the truth but only in such information as will bolster and support their own misconceptions, notions, and opinions. It is to this type of clergymen that the American Bar Association's Committee on Communist Tactics, Strategy, and Objectives addressed its recent recommendation that:

"For those who want to understand Communism prescribe not a 15-day tour to Russia but 15

days in a library studying the Communist conspiracy."

3. Moral cowards and weaklings. These clergymen fully understand the nature and objectives of Communism and want no part of it. However, they consider themselves liberals or progressives and have no stomach for being singled out and vilified as "witch-hunters," "reactionaries," "McCarthyites," etc., etc., ad nauseam, so they run with the pack motivated by nothing nobler than a herd instinct of fear and the urge to remain unmarked and unblemished. This type can usually preach some very stirring and eloquent sermons on the dangers of "conformity" and "running with the herd."

4. Secret fellow travelers and pro-Soviet sympathizers who are "too smart" to be openly identified with Communist activities and fronts. A minority may be under loose and invisible Communist Party control; most of them are not. They form one of the Communist conspiracy's most important and valuable auxiliary corps. Their cloak of religion gives the man ideal immunity against criticism because they can always falsely claim that their particular religion is being attacked. As pastors they also wield a far greater influence over their flocks than a layman would, no matter how prominent and respected he might otherwise be.

These cryptos will even occasionally deliver anti-Communist sermons and speeches of a harmless, slap-on-the-wrist type in order to establish "anti-Communist" records. Some of them will go so far as to infiltrate or attempt to influence anti-Communist organizations and activities, something which known fellow travellers and communist frontiers obviously could not do. However, they usually give themselves away by trying to prove that "fascism," "reactionaries," "McCarthyism," "racial discrimination," the Catholic Church, or some other bugaboo "is a far greater menace to America than Communism."

The Communists call this *diversion*. Diverting attention and concern away from their own nefarious activities and getting people to run around chasing all sorts of other problems (and there always are other problems besides Communism) is one of the oldest and most successful tactics of the Communists. People who unwittingly lend themselves to such diversionary work render a service of highest importance to the Communist conspiracy.

5. The last category of clergymen aiding the Communists on their march to world conquest are the open fellow travelers, frontiers, and pro-Soviet apologists. These are the expendables of the Communist army and their role and activities hardly require further explanation.

CONCLUSION. A simple syllogism which so many people still fail to understand is that Soviet Russia, heading the world conspiracy of Communism, is the implacable and sworn enemy of the United States. Every Communist leader, from Lenin to Khrushchev and Mao Tse Tung, has frankly and repeatedly boasted of plans to destroy our government, social, and economic systems. Russian clergymen are the bound slaves of the Soviet slave state and hence also of the world Communist conspiracy. Therefore, American clergymen who consort and collaborate with sworn enemies of this country and Christianity are obviously traitors to both. That some are fools, without the foggiest notion of what they are doing, does not detract from the fact that others know exactly what they are doing and, hence, can be classified only as traitors.

Treason is an ugly word. It is the only crime defined in the Constitution. Article, III, Section 3 reads:

"Treason against the United States, shall consist only of levying war against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court."

Note that the authors of the Constitution did not limit treason merely to the "levying of war against the United States" but also to "adhering and giving aid and comfort to enemies" of this country. Because of narrow construction of this clause the courts, since Aaron Burr's trial in 1807, have handed down very few treason convictions.

The Constitution of the United States, an Analysis and Interpretation by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress (1953), observes that "The vacillation of Chief Justice Marshall, between the Bollman and Burr cases (1807), and the vacillation of the Court, in Cramer (1945) and Haupt (1947) cases, leaves the law of treason in a somewhat doubtful condition." Active Communist traitors and their allies in this country seem to be all too familiar with this wide breach in our laws. But whether legally guilty or not, those who knowingly give aid and comfort to the enemies of this country are, nevertheless, by Constitutional definition, traitors.

Every American clergyman who aids, abets, or connives at extending aid and comfort to the enemies of this country as well as his own religion must therefore stand self-branded as either a dupe or a traitor to God and Country.

Don't permit your church to be used for subversive purposes.

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The Chetaks	Popoff	Philpot	1934
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SECONDARY SOURCES

In addition there is considerable collateral information on the mistreatment, sufferings, heroism, and deaths of countless priests, ministers, and rabbis in Soviet slave labor camps reported by eye witnesses in the following:

Tell the West	Glikman	Graham Press	1948
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Soviet Gold	Petrov	Parsons Street	
1 Close Freedom	Kryashenko	Garden City Pub.	
Black Book of Deeds of Kremlin	Ukrainian Assoc. of Victims of Communist Terror	Toronto	1953

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CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA
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News and Views

Eternal Vigilance Is Forever The Price Of Freedom

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Nikolai Dorofeyevich Yarushevich

"Mordre wol out, that we see day by day".

—Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*.

Although written nearly six hundred years ago Chaucer's observation that "murder will out" still holds good today. The N.Y. Times for June 9, 1956 carried a news photo showing the Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, President of the National Council of Churches, escorting Metropolitan Nikolai of Russia to visit Independence Hall in Philadelphia. The picture shows a solid line of police holding back angry demonstrators shouting epithets at the Soviet clergyman. Some of them probably shouted "murderer" at the holy man from Russia. Millions of Americans no doubt were shocked at such rudeness and incivility.

Page 114 of LIFE for March 23, 1959 again shows Metropolitan Nikolai this time officially branded as a Soviet secret agent by a high ranking Soviet Secret Police official, Peter Deriabin, who recently defected to the West. Between these two pictures hangs a tale—a tale of consummate villainy and cynical fraud beyond all historical parallel.

In March, 1956, nine prominent leaders of the N.C.C.C. headed by Eugene Carson Blake journeyed to Moscow at the invitation of the Soviet government through Metropolitan Nikolai, second ranking Orthodox hierarch in all of the U.S.S.R. The N.C.C.C. leaders came back bursting with enthusiasm and praise for Metropolitan Nikolai. They did not have much to say on just who this Soviet clergyman was and what his background was. Soviet Russia is a land of mystery and secrecy and it is often very hard to dig out even the most elementary facts readily available to anyone in a non-Communist country.

NEWS AND VIEWS has been doing a little research on the venerable Nikolai now that a former Soviet Secret Police official has identified him as a former colleague of his in the same sinister, murderous organization.

Metropolitan Nikolai of Krutitski and Kolonna, to give him full title, was born Boris Dorofeyevich Yarushevich, in Kovno in 1891. His father was an arch-priest in the old Russian Orthodox Church. Young Yarushevich became a monk in 1914. He was graduated from a theological seminary a year later.

On November 7, 1917, Lenin's Bolsheviks stormed the Winter Palace in Petrograd and overthrew the liberal democratic government of Kerensky. Within three months the Bolsheviks began the destruction of all religion in Russia. It is highly significant that the victorious Bolsheviks struck at religion long before they began their expropriation of all property and other assaults on human freedom and dignity. Mark well the date because this is highly important in our study of the rise of Metropolitan Nikolai.

Shuster in his very important and scholarly "Religion Behind the Iron Curtain" states:

"The Communists attacked with blind fury. Church property was taken away, priests were

left without any means of subsistence. Houses of worship were profaned. A few excerpts from the pastoral letter issued by Patriarch Tikhon on January 18, 1918, summarize the situation at that time:

'Daily we are in receipt of letters reporting the horrible, bestial murders of quite innocent and bed-ridden people . . . There are no hearings, all rights and laws have been abrogated. The holy edifices are targets for gunfire, or are subjected to looting, ridicule and degradation. Venerable persons residing in monasteries and honored by the faithful are seized by the dark, ungodly powers of this age. Schools supported by the Orthodox Church for the education of priests are turned into institutions of nonbelievers or are made into houses of prostitution.'

The Metropolitan of St. Petersburg, the Metropolitan of Kiev, and the chief representative of the Roman Catholic Church in Russia were tried and executed. How many others suffered a like fate, no one knows."

We now know that thousands of priests, monks, and other religious leaders were horribly murdered or exiled to slow death in Siberia. Churches were despoiled, robbed of their valuable ikons and other wealth and converted into granaries, barracks or even stables.

And while all this was going on how fared our "dearly beloved brother" Metropolitan Nikolai, bosom pal of Eugene Carson Blake and other American modernist, ecumenical, left-wing clergymen?

In 1918 Boris Yarushevich, while churches were being closed and desecrated all over Russia, became head of the Peter and Paul Cathedral in Peterhof. The next year he became Archimandrite and head of the Alexander Nevsky Monastery of Petrograd. In 1922 he became Bishop of Peterhof and Petrograd diocese. That same year a priest named Vvedensky started the "Living Church" movement which enjoyed the official protection and approval of the Bolshevik regime. (See News and Views, May 1957, Page 4.)

The supreme head of the Orthodox Church, Patriarch Tikhon was arrested in July 1922. He died three years later. From 1925 to 1943 no election of a new Patriarch was permitted by the Soviets. Indeed, the very title disappeared from all official documents and the press. It was forbidden to use any religious title in any publication. The death of Patriarch Tikhon was merely announced as that of "Citizen" Belavin.

Before his death Tikhon had designated Metropolitan Cyril as keeper of his office. Orthodox canon law empowered only a Sobor or general council of top hierarchs as guarding the ecclesiastical succession. The Soviet government immediately arrested Cyril. Tikhon's second choice had been Metropolitan Agaphang but he was already in exile. Patriarch Tikhon's third choice was Metropolitan Peter but he was arrested as soon as he assumed office and transported to Siberia where he died in 1936.

With the death of Metropolitan Peter the legitimate succession of ecclesiastical authority was wiped out forever. Out of eleven hierarchs appointed to act as keeper or deputy ten died in exile or in prison. The present Patriarch, like Metropolitan Nikolai, is nothing more than a Secret Police appointee and hence devoid of any bona fide ecclesiastical authority.

In 1936 Nikolai had advanced under the Soviet Secret Police to Archbishop of Peterhof and Novgorod diocese. In 1939 he was Exarch of the Ukraine. While Khrushchev was busy purging the Communist Party of the Ukraine his henchman Nikolai directed a merciless campaign of persecution against the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church as well as against the Greek Catholics and Ukrainian Roman Catholics. Hundreds of priests and thousands of laymen were deported to slave labor camps and a speedy death.

In 1942 Nikolai made the news in Russia by being the first religious leader since the 1917 Revolution to be officially recognized by title in an official Soviet document. He was appointed a member of a Commission to Investigate German atrocities. As this was fully a year before Stalin deigned to take official notice of Nikolai's superior, Patriarch Sergius, it must be quite obvious who was the favorite boy of the Bolsheviks. Sergius was also restored to some limited degree of authority and prestige as part of the Communists' use of religion to bolster sagging Soviet morale under the hammer blows of Hitler's onswearing *Reichswehr*.

With the end of World War II Metropolitan Nikolai's real role in Soviet foreign policy began to unfold itself—that of an international Judas goat leading the innocent faithful into the Red abattoir of nations and peoples. In 1945 he was the directing genius of the Moscow Sobor which arbitrarily brought the Orthodox churches of newly conquered satellites under the Moscow Patriarchate. Metropolitan Nikolai began to travel extensively and frequently in western Europe building up contacts with various Protestant denominations. In 1948 he was busy in Stockholm with the phony Stockholm Peace Appeal.

On February 23, 1951 the Communist World Council of Peace met in East Berlin, Germany. A featured speaker at the Red gathering was Metropolitan Nikolai of Moscow. This agent of KGB (Soviet Secret Police) launched a vitriolic attack against the United States. Here are some of the vicious charges made by the so-called "Christian" leader of the Soviet Orthodox Church who fraternizes with leaders of the National and World Councils of Churches, and who has been invited to join them in the World Council:

"We all know how on June 25, 1950, the hordes of the Korean American marionette—*Li Sun Man*, villainously fell upon the Peoples-Democratic Korean Republic, at the direction of their American masters. The pains-taking elaboration of this, horrible in its baseness, act, is known.

It is known how the freedom-loving Korean people answered the bloody attack in one out-

burst. It is known how President Truman gave the order to the American armed forces in the Far East to come to the aid of his true ally—*Li Sun Man*.

It is known by what methods the United States of America influenced and [what methods it] uses to put through the UN resolutions it desires.

The demagogic wails of American propagandists are known, with which they try to cover up the *bestial grin* of imperialism revealed to the whole world.

The march of military actions on the fronts of this long-suffering land is known. The boundless courage and heroism, with which an ancient people defends its independence and life before the hordes of contemporary savages, is known. What sympathy and condolence are called forth by the sufferings of the Korean people from all freedom-loving humanity, are known.

And there is also known one circumstance of the Korean events, and it is to this circumstance that I want to draw your attention. I have in mind the conduct of the war in Korea by the American aggressors.

When we turn to the official statements of the governmental workers of the Korean Peoples-Democratic Republic; when we listen to the evidence of war correspondents, journalists, up to now not known for the progressiveness of their opinions; when living people speak, who by some miracle have survived after the retreat of the army of occupation, or those who managed to escape from the leprous regions of the "new Americanized order" — we feel that which no document can transmit: we feel that depth of boundless, unassuageable grief into which *modernized American monsters* have plunged a noble people with its ancient culture.

And so we become convinced that the spirit and substance of fascism has not disappeared, that the delirious dreams of the fanatic Hitler have found their continuers, now trying to realize them.

Their followers do not lag behind their teachers.

From the first day of the lawless aggression the American neofascists began a systematic cannibalistic destruction of the "lower" Korean race.

What do we see?

Cynically violated standards not only of international rights, but of human morals. Executions without trial and inquisitions, secret and public. Dreadful tortures of victims: the cutting off of ears and noses, breasts, the putting out of eyes, the breaking of arms and legs, the crucifixion of patriots, the burial alive in communal graves of women with children at their breasts, etc. The reirth of the customs of savages—the scalping of Korean patriots for "souvenirs."

For the purposes of annihilating the population, the American criminals first of all fanatically killed the political prisoners (from 200,000 to 400,000 persons), forcing them first to dig their own graves; they threw the bodies of patriots [who had been] hung, shot or who died from typhus into a precipice and, to conceal the traces, blew up a cliff above it.

The barbaric bombings of peaceful cities and centers of population were directed exclusively toward the annihilation of the civil population.

In the committees of inquiry of the American troops we see the reborn "technique" of Hitler, inhuman tortures of Korean patriots; hanging by the hands, binding [them] behind the back, which is impudently called "aeroplane"; welding handcuffs on the hands behind the back for 2-3 months; torture by electricity, including the electric bed, on which death follows the transmission of a strong current; a wet leather jacket which crushes the breast of the victim on drying; placing those ill of an epidemic sickness in cells filled to overflowing with prisoners.

These civilized savages arranged shooting matches with living targets, binding peasants to posts with barbed wire and shooting each of them over the heart of the target. Reviving the customs of the young-fascists, young-yankees photographed these scenes for their family albums and sent them home to their fiancées and wives.

These representatives of the "higher" race practised and practise mass rape of the women and young girls of Korea, rounding them up from surrounding towns, making them drunk on gin and raping them. Not limited to outrages, the miserable victims were driven, in places, into tunnels, shot by machine-guns and buried under the debris of blown up cliffs.

Often one can see on the roads of Korea the still warm corpse of a mother and a crying child at her breast. Cases are known when children, born in prison, were trampled by the soldiers' boots in front of the mother, and then the mother was killed.

On retreating, this "flower of culture" destroyed or drove off with it all living things on the evacuated lands.

On attacking, their fury was also vented first of all on the peaceful people.

Thus, on landing on September 15 in the Bay of Incheon everything breathing in the region was annihilated by insane forty-eight hour fire. Upon attacking Seoul in September of 1950 the same tactics of general destruction were continued.

In September of 1950, the French journalist Charles Farvel visited the camp of death, located in the "valley of horror" in Southern Korea. More than 300,000 Koreans are doomed to death in that camp. At that time there were 10 such camps. The camps are surrounded by barbed wire, along which run high voltage electric currents. The people live on the ground, they have neither clothing nor shoes. They are not fed, they eat grass and the bark of trees and bushes. American scientists and doctors, under the guise of giving medical assistance, test the newest vaccines and chemical preparations on the prisoners. Every night there are executions in the ravines surrounding the camps. To be destroyed in the first order are the intelligentsia of the Korean people: doctors, teachers, engineers, technicians, agriculturists.

"I accuse!"—declared the Korean artist [a woman] Zoe Sin Hee—"The blood of thousands of infants, destroyed by the Americans, the tens of thousands tortured in the camps of death, the hundreds of thousands killed at the front, call

for justice. The American military criminals must be severely punished for their evil deeds. I accuse them. I believe that the hour of retribution will soon arrive."

In retreating in January of 1951, the occupation forcibly chased more than two million peaceful inhabitants to the south of Korea, who died in thousands on the road and the roadside ditches from hunger and cold, from the bullets of aggressors.

Those of the peaceful population of Northern Korea who remained alive or were dispersed among the camps expected hunger and epidemics. Even the notorious "UN Commission on the Unification and Re-establishment of Korea" in its letter to the UN of February 1, 1951, notes that 3,628 Koreans have been left without a roof in penury.

The Korean children are everywhere subject to the fury of the occupation. Everywhere, where the foot of the intervenors has stepped—in the province of Southern Penyan, Northern Kengke, Southern Kengke, Kanko, Chang-Bong—the American bandits have destroyed the children.

And again one cannot dismiss the thought that the ideologists guiding the dreadful events in Korea consider themselves to be Christians, and not only Christians, but even leaders of Christian organizations! They know the Bible and often state so in the hearing of all!

And reason refuses to give an explanation of this nightmare, and the heart does not cease to tremble from feelings of holy hatred toward the cannibals, and the conscience of all simple people cries out against the evil deeds of the American aggressor!

Waves of protest and indignation against the American aggressor in Korea and the evil deeds of the occupation; against the attempts to loosen a new world war by means of blocs, pacts, the remilitarization of Germany and Japan; against the exploitation of the UN by the United States of America as a weapon of aggression—roll over the entire world. This indignation against the rulers who have lost their reason and will, dragging people towards the precipice, can be heard in numberless petitions, sent to parliaments and ministries. It is heard in the appearances of women and young people, going on in all the countries of the world. Protest and indignation is expressed by the many-thousand-strong crowds gathering in the town squares of Europe and demanding that the overseas world bandits and world colonizers in dress-coats and generals' tunics return home. . . .

And our holy duty, dear friends is to tighten our ranks in the fight for peace, for the cessation of the bloody aggression in Korea, in the fight against the remilitarization of Western Germany and Japan, as a step towards a new war, against weapons for the mass annihilation of people, for the progressive curtailing of armament."

Nikolai's atrocity story varies a bit from the official North Korean version which charged that American soldiers buried young Korean children alive with only their heads sticking above the ground and then used these live baby heads as targets for routine rifle practice.

In December that same year Nikolai charged that:

"American aggressors continue to wage a war of extermination in Korea . . . The ideas

of hatred of humanity are inoculated in children and young people on a broad scale in the U.S.A. . . . It is thus that the American kindlers of war try to raise murderers from their tender years."

In 1952 Metropolitan Nikolai charged that U.S. airmen in Korea were waging germ warfare:

"Infected insects are being dropped from American aircraft on populated points, not only in Korea but in China . . . The church cannot pass over in silence the sufferings of the Korean people, which is perishing from the brigandlike attack and demoniac malice of these human monsters . . . We shall hope that the Lord will put to shame the modern bloodthirsty Baal attempting to catch the entire world in his net, that the dread hand of Providence will restore the truth that has been defiled."

Nikolai did not think much better of Pope Pius XII whom he regarded as a mere "agent of American imperialism."

These are but a few brief excerpts from pages of similar slanders by Metropolitan Nikolai which have appeared in the Soviet press and journals.

At this point the sceptic will probably ask: "Why should the atheist Soviet regime build up religion when its own history and all its official pronouncements decree the death of all religions under the sickle and hammer?" NEWS AND VIEWS for last November carried a long article "Treason or Dupery?" which fully explained the new line laid down by Stalin in and during the last war for exploiting the captive Orthodox Church of Russia to advance the interests of the Soviet regime. With a cynicism without parallel in history, the Communists use the Russian Orthodox Church as a weapon for world domination and the ultimate extinction of all religious belief.

By re-establishing and granting quasi-recognition to the church, atheist and cynical Communists accomplished the following:

1. It enabled them to assimilate and bring under their control the Orthodox churches of the conquered satellites of East Europe.
2. It helped toward an old Russian objective—to make Moscow the "Third Rome".
3. It hampered the spread of the underground or catacomb church.
4. It gave the Soviets enormous world-wide prestige as many religious people, impressed by the apparent restoration of the Orthodox Church, lessened their suspicion of and animosity towards the Soviet Union. An apparently free functioning hierarchy and "packed churches" were witness to the liberality and tolerance of the Soviets towards organized religion.
5. With secret police agents posing as priests and listening to confessions, as well as penetrating every strata of the hierarchy, it gave the Soviet police state another secret observation post inside the minds of the Russian enslaved people.
6. It enabled venal and treacherous Soviet clergymen to build bridges of contact and confidence with western clergymen and in turn rope them in on all manner of Soviet propaganda

enterprises; viz. Stockholm Peace Appeal, World Congresses for Peace, etc., etc.,

7. It enabled the Soviet government through its religious stooges to by-pass the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople and the Roman Catholic Church and deal directly with other Christian denominations throughout the non-Communist world.

For example, in July, 1948, the Moscow Conference of the heads and representatives of the Orthodox Autocephalous Churches announced that universal Christianity was not identified with western civilization; that most western Christian sects no longer followed the precepts of Christ and the True Faith and were sunk in materialism, greed, vice, and corruption. Only the Orthodox Church represented the True Faith and Communism was nothing more than the Kingdom of God on this earth. Nine months later the First World Congress of Peace Partisans meeting in Paris issued a manifesto embracing much the same general line that the West had abandoned Christianity in its mad search for ever greater nuclear bombs and mass destruction weapons.

The Soviet hierarchy therefore have become an extremely valuable and important weapon in the arsenal of world Communism as directed from Moscow. And, Metropolitan Nikolai of Krutitski and Kolonna is one of the most important front men in this international confidence game to bamboozle gullible western clergymen into acting as dupes for all sorts of Communist propaganda swindles and confidence games!

If your church adheres to the National Council of Churches of Christ and the World Council you officially are associated with Boris Dorofeyevich Yarushevich, alias "Metropolitan Nikolai" in this most colossal and cynical hoax of all history. Take another look at page 114 of March 23rd LIFE and read Mr. Deriabin's sensational article.

The N.C.C.C.'s OUTLOOK for May, 1956, in defending the Moscow visit of nine of its top leaders commented, "Only a few seem to think it wrong for American Christians to talk with Russian Christians." The testimony of Soviet defector Deriabin can now leave no doubt that the Rev. Blake and his associates were not talking to "Russian Christians" at all but to murderous Soviet secret police agents and their stooges masquerading in clergymen's clothes.

Thus, official Soviet sources leave no doubt that Nikolai rose steadily to the second top ecclesiastical post in all of Russia while the Bolsheviks were exterminating the rest of the Orthodox clergy and extirpating all religions. As priests were murdered or deported to slow deaths in Siberia Nikolai stepped from one sacerdotal preference to the next. When Khrushchev went to the Ukraine to wipe out all anti-Soviets in blood purges, Metropolitan Nikolai was on hand to handle the purges of the clergy.

Metropolitan Nikolai's blood-strewn trail is a matter of open record in official Soviet documents. This record was available to the Rev. Eugene Carson Blake and his National Council of Churches' associates when they went to Russia in 1956 and invited Nikolai to this country. The Deriabin disclosure merely confirms and clinches the record. Blake now has little choice but to get down on his knees and ask God for forgiveness. Then he owes the American People a confession of grave error and an apology for having misled so many other clergymen into playing the fool in advancing communist aims and objectives. END

News and Views

Eternal Vigilance Is Forever The Price Of Freedom

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THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

By KARL BAARSLAG

The Church League of America has received a number of requests from its subscribers for information on the American Friends Service Committee. Is it an officially recognized auxiliary of the Quaker faith or is it an embarrassing stepchild like the Methodist Federation for Social Action is to the Methodist Church? Is it actually a communist front although never officially cited by any competent government agency or is it merely a once respected welfare division of a fine religion which has been allowed to fall into the wrong hands and deviated to nonreligious purposes? The following evaluation is based largely on the A.F.S.C.'s own publications plus dependable research and reference sources in Washington which have extensive files on this organization.

In 1922 the American Friends Service Committee was feeding and caring for starving Russian and East European children. In 1949 the same Quaker "service" organization proudly used Alger Hiss as a lecturer at one of their summer seminars on international affairs. It was also busy all over the United States attacking and denouncing those patriotic Americans who had expressed some mild misgivings about the value of the United Nations or who had been critical of UNESCO. A brief twenty-two years had seen the deplorable retrogression of a once respected relief organization into just another political action operation with heavy leftwing bias and orientation.

In order to appraise and understand the present activities of the A.F.S.C. with objective and impartial evaluation one must first understand the history of the Society of Friends. An A.F.S.C. booklet, *"Twenty-five Years Under the Red and Black Star"* (1942) states: "The American Friends Service represents the Society of Friends in fields of social action."

From their very founding in the 17th Century the Quakers have been opposed to war and violence in any form and under all conditions. The Quaker position is quite simple: Christianity and war are incompatible. From their earliest days in this country the Quakers have worked for peace, for the abolition of slavery, for prison reform, for justice to the American Indian and other aborigines regardless of their cultural level. As a natural consequence Quakers since the time of George Fox, their founder, have either stubbornly refused or sought to block military service by all means at their disposal. Therefore to accuse the Friends of being pacifists is as silly as to accuse a Marxist of advocating Socialism.

Their anti-militarist and unpopular attitudes naturally subjected them to persecution in England — persecution which often bordered on the merciless and inhumane. Those

who fled to Colonial America often suffered degradation and persecution at the hands of other religious refugees who had settled here earlier. Pennsylvania finally became a haven for the early Society of Friends in this country under William Penn. Most of their concentrated population even today can be found in the state named after Penn, although there are also many Quakers in Ohio and Indiana. There are about 120,000 Quakers in the U.S.

Remembering their long history of religious persecution, the Quakers naturally turned to the relief of human suffering and the protection of the humble and lowly as their bounden religious duty. They have seldom shied away from what they deemed their God-directed tasks merely because of public opprobrium or disapproval.

However, in selecting areas of work the Quakers preferred to work in those areas where human suffering and distress was caused by human agencies as distinguished from those caused by natural disasters. The same work quoted above states:

"When true to its heritage, Quaker Service goes further than charitable relief. There is a more fundamental objective than passing kindness. Quaker Service tries to strike at the cause of social ill rather than to cover up its effects. . . . It is irrevocably opposed to violence or coercion even though the ends in view seem good."

This irrevocable opposition to violence and coercion, however, for some inexplicable reason, seems to stop dead short at the borders of the Communist world empire. The Soviet empire is one of fear and terror as well as violence and coercion as even the Quakers themselves must admit.

The American Friends Service Committee was organized by fourteen Quakers in Philadelphia in 1917. It was reorganized in 1929. It functions independently through its own Board of Directors and executive staff. In 1954 it had 437 officers and employees on its staff and enjoyed an annual budget of over three million dollars — most of which was contributed by non-Quakers according to its annual report of that year.

QUESTIONABLE SPEAKERS

Granting that the A.F.S.C. has done a great deal of good work, let us now briefly examine a few of the more controversial activities of this organization in recent years which have brought so much criticism against a once praiseworthy organization. In addition to forsaking social welfare work to a large degree and boldly entering the arena of political controversy, the A.F.S.C. has been most careless or indifferent in its selection of speakers and lecturers. Alger Hiss as an authority on foreign affairs was not an isolated accident.

In 1948 the A.F.S.C. sponsored and sent around the country one "Martin Hall." Hall addressed high school groups on peace. In speech after speech he defended the Soviet position in the Cold war and attacked and abused this country. The Janesville, Wisconsin *Gazette* for October 8, 1948, reported that even Quakers "who listened got up and left the hall in disgust." They complained that he "sounded more like a Communist than a Quaker." The National Headquarters of the American Legion received several protests about "Hall" and queries as to who he was. *Mr. Hall was not a Quaker.*

Shortly after his Wisconsin tour Hall turned up in Southern California. He spoke before the Hollywood chapter of a notorious Communist front, the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions. As far back as 1937 Hall's name appeared as a contributor of articles to the admittedly Communist publication, *New Masses*. The name of Martin Hall also appeared frequently as a contributor to the official organ of the Communist International, *Inprecorr*, between 1935 and 1937. All of which naturally raises the question, "just who is this Martin Hall, American Friends Service Committee lecturer?"

Hall is not Hall at all. He is German refugee born Herman Jacobs who fled to the United States shortly after Hitler took over. He had been a delegate to a Communist press conference in Moscow in 1930. He had been the editor of a left-wing labor paper in Germany for fifteen years before the Nazis began chasing the Communies out of Germany. When Hall's record and anti-American speeches were given to the A.F.S.C. they expressed great regret over having sponsored him and hastily dropped Jacobs, alias Hall from their speakers' list.

That was in 1948. The following July, 1949, the American Friends Service Committee conducted an international service seminar at Plymouth, New Hampshire, on the United Nations and international relations. One of the featured speakers was Alger Hiss. Widespread unfavorable comment and adverse publicity apparently compelled the A.F.S.C. to issue a statement which appeared in the N. Y. Times of July 26, 1949:

"The Committee decided to reaffirm its earlier decision to continue to use Alger Hiss as a visiting faculty member on two main grounds of equal importance.

A. The Committee firmly believes in the basic principle of our democracy that a man is and should be considered innocent until his guilt has been proven.

B. Mr Hiss has made valuable contributions to two previous seminars and in his relationships with our committee has demonstrated himself to be a person on whose discretion and integrity we can depend.

In the light of these facts and despite the fact that Alger Hiss offered to withdraw, we have found no reason for not continuing our long-standing relationship with him in a common effort to assist into being a world of peace and justice."

This was before Hiss's second trial and conviction but after he had been indicted and his first trial.

In 1951 the American Friends Service Committee made another unhappy and ill-advised choice in a speaker. Bayard Rustin, advertised as a "specialist in human understanding," was sent around the country under the joint sponsorship of the A.F.S.C. and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a well-known pacifist organization. Unlike Hall who was not a Quaker, Rustin was a member of the Religious Society of Friends. The Eleventh Report of the Senate Investigating Committee on Education of the California Legislature issued in 1953 has the following on page 40:

"The AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE sponsored a lecturer, a member of the Religious Society of Friends, to address their group in Pasadena on January 22, 1953. The *Pasadena Independent* of January 23, 1953, carried the following article:

Bayard Rustin, world famed Negro lecturer and authority on community relations, was arrested yesterday in Pasadena on a morals charge. . . Rustin was jailed less than six hours after he had addressed a dinner meeting of the local chapter of the AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN. He was scheduled to speak at UCLA yesterday and at a church (First Methodist, Pasadena) here tonight. . . Rustin recently returned from Africa where he consulted with national leaders on the subject of non-violence as an approach to political and racial differences . . .

He is college secretary of the FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION and a member of the Religious Society of Friends. . . His talk tonight was sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) and the World Friendship and Peace Committee.

A three man delegation from the FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE showed up at the hearing. "We still think Mr. Rustin is a wonderful gentleman," said the spokesman. He declined to identify himself.

BAYARD RUSTIN and his two male companions were jailed. RUSTIN was sentenced to 60 days in the county jail."

The *Los Angeles Mirror* of January 23, 1953, contained the following news item:

"MISSIONARY GETS 60 DAY TERM IN MORALS CASE"

Bayard Rustin, 40-year-old missionary whose sparkling lectures on world peace earned a Pasadena women's club has been sentenced to 60 days in jail for lewd vagrancy.

He pleaded guilty to the charge and was sentenced yesterday by Pasadena Municipal Judge H. Burton Noble who ignored a plea that Rustin be allowed to leave the state and return to New York. "I'm not inclined to extend any leniency," the judge said.

Similar sentences were also handed to two 23 year old men who were arrested in the car with Rustin early Wednesday morning a few hours after the missionary addressed the American Society of University Women.

Rustin recently returned from Africa where he did missionary work for the American Friends Service Society. A delegation of three members of the society appeared in court but did not testify in Rustin's behalf.

Rustin had been convicted in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, May 20, 1947, for violating a state law requiring segregated seating on intrastate buses. He was a member of sixteen teams sent into border states by the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Congress for Racial Equality to test out a Supreme Court decision. He was fined \$8 trial costs.

In 1948 the Peacemakers, a pacifist civil disobedience group, released a "Call to American Christians of Draft Age" which advised young men not to register for the draft, a clear invitation to violate the law. Rustin was a signer of this "Call" as well as a member of the Executive Committee. That same year he was listed as Executive co-secretary of the League for Non-Violent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation.

In 1952 Rustin attended the Friends World Conference at Oxford before going on to Africa to confer with African nationalist leaders on the use of non-violent resistance to gain political ends.

The same California Legislative Committee report carries numerous citations on the A.F.S.C.'s activities in California opposing state loyalty oaths, distributing copies of Soviet apologist Jerome Davis' "Behind Soviet Power," and protesting anti-Communist legislation on the grounds that "An atmosphere of suspicion and intimidation created by anti-Communist legislation from the Board of Education lowers the quality of instruction."

No one apparently raised any question as to why a welfare and relief organization was concerning itself with the "quality of instruction" in the public schools and with anti-Subversive legislation.

The same report contains numerous anti-American statements by Dr. J. Stewart Innerst, "Chairman, Adult Peace Committee of the AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE." On page 95 we find:

"Dr. Innerst's letter was written on the official letterhead of the American Friends Service Committee, Pasadena, and stated in part as follows:

'A man's political affiliation is no longer considered a matter of privacy, but a matter of public information that may be forcibly extracted under pain of being cited for contempt. While we dread thought control in Russia, we pursue a policy in the said investigations that inevitably leads to it in free America. . . .

He then explains that the opinions he has expressed are his own and should not be construed as those of the organization which employs him.'

Further on in this same California Legislative report Innerst is quoted as having told a current events class that Russia was the aggrieved and injured party in the current world crisis and that there was no concrete evidence of Russian intervention in either China or Korea. He is quoted as saying:

"In fact, I have been in China and never have seen a Russian soldier or any Russian equipment but I have been forced to take shelter when American bombers flew overhead"

Dr. Innerst presumably was in Red China at the time that country was waging war against the United States and hordes of Communists were killing American boys during the Korean war. The report does not disclose just what Dr. Innerst was doing in Red China at the time that U.S. armed forces were engaged in protecting South Korea against a Communist invasion.

Martin Hall, Alger Hiss, and Bayard Rustin do not exhaust the roster of off-color speakers used by the American Friends Service Committee at its seminars on International Relations. In November of 1950 the A.F.S.C. advertised that it was bringing Bayard Rustin, Derk Bodde, and Louis Dolivet to Uniontown Pa., to speak at the Institute of International Relations being held in the Great Bethel Baptist Church of that city. Because Dolivet had a far more colorful and fascinating background than either Rustin or Derk Bodde and also to conserve space we dismiss Bodde with the observation that he had an extensive front record going back at least to 1950.

The A.F.S.C. publicity note advertised Dolivet as an "author, editor, lecturer." He was also editor of the UNITED NATIONS WORLD and "an international roving correspondent for the NEW YORK POST. Has followed the work of the League of Nations and later the United Nations since 1932." All of this is undoubtedly true but there was a great deal of additional information in the public domain available on Mr. Dolivet. The Congressional Record for May 25, 1950, pages 7806-08 carried a great deal more on Mr. Dolivet who is not Dolivet at all but really Ludwig Brecher of probable Rumanian extraction.

Congressman Jenison of Illinois charged that Brecher, alias Dolivet was, according to the State Department, "a very dangerous Stalinist agent and a member of the International Communist apparatus." Dolivet's activities in behalf of the Soviets was set forth in some detail in a French magazine, LA REVUE PARLEMENTAIRE for Dec. 15, 1949. The French secret police knew Dolivet as Ludwig Udeanu a close associate of the notorious Soviet agent Willy Muenzenberg. Muenzenberg was known as the "Henry Ford" of

the Communist Front" because he conceived and set up a worldwide network of fronts on a mass production basis. His corpse was found dangling from a tree in Nazi occupied France at the time of the liberation of France. He had either committed suicide, been executed as a traitor by the Communist underground, or strung up by the retreating Nazis.

Under the Comintern name of Udeanu, Dolivet had written for INPRECOR, the journal of the Communist International. He was the brains of a Communist operation which infiltrated and took over a French paper, LE MONDE. In 1932 he was in Amsterdam helping organize one of the Soviet's first world congresses for peace. He was behind the scenes pulling wires for the Comintern at the 1933 World Committee for Struggle Against War and Fascism and in 1935 in Paris for another Soviet-instigated Universal Rally for Peace.

In 1934 Dolivet was in Russia and about this time he made contact with the Swedish banker Olaf Ashberg, who later in his memoirs admitted that he had been a very active financial agent for the Soviets for many years. In 1937-38 Dolivet was accused of alleged embezzlement of funds raised in France in behalf of the Spanish Loyalists. He was a French citizen by this time and a protégé of Pierre Cot, Communist and later a government minister. Cot and Ashberg allegedly financed and helped him get control of the FREE WORLD, a magazine which later became the UNITED NATIONS WORLD. There is no information as to when he first came to this country except that he came on a visitor's visa. He was turned down for U.S. citizenship in 1946 after serving 25 days in the U.S. Army in 1943.

Brecher—alias Udeanu—alias Dolivet went abroad in 1950 just before a Congressional Committee could serve him with a subpoena. The U.S. Immigration Service thereupon served notice that he would not be re-admitted to the United States presumably because of his role as an international Communist agent. The American Friends Service Committee in advertising him as one of their speakers in November of 1950 possibly had not read the Congressional Record exposé of this Comintern agent only five months before, or if it did, blithely decided to ignore the information and to circulate him around the country anyway. And to close the case of Mr. Dolivet, he had lived for a time in the small French village of O'Dolivet from which he derived the name he used in this country.

THE A.F.S.C. CHANGES COURSE

Some time in the late '20's or early '30's the Quaker service organization put down a hard left rudder and altered course from one devoted to the relief of human suffering and distress to that of political agitation. In 1933 William Dennis of Earlham College, Indiana, (a Quaker institution) charged that the Friends Commission on Economic Life and Relationships while critical of war and Fascism was curiously silent when it came to any criticism of Communism.

For many years a guiding genius of the A.F.S.C. was one Ray Newton. In responding to a poll of ministers in 1934 on the question of Socialism Newton said he favored Socialism as a system of government for the United States. A letterhead of the U.S. Congress Against War, set up by the American Committee For Struggle Against War (a Communist front), dated Nov. 1, 1933, carried the name of Ray Newton as a member of the Arrangements Committee. The American Committee for Struggle Against War was formed in this country in response to directives laid down by the Communist International in 1932 according to a re-

port by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities dated March 29, 1944.

Newton was also affiliated with the War Resisters League, another pacifist-Socialist outfit. The former A.F.S.C. official was also a vice-chairman of the National Council Against Conscription cited as a Communist front by the California Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in 1943. The report states: "Out of a total of 137 listed sponsors and supporters of the National Council Against Conscription there are 47 individuals with a known record of supporting Communist front organizations and causes. (page 320).

In 1947 the A.F.S.C. sent a delegate to the Communist-instigated World Youth Festival at Prague. The delegate was Kenneth Southard of Philadelphia. Socialists and other non-Communist radicals ridiculed and denounced this Communist propaganda stunt and there were ample warnings as to its inspiration and guiding direction in the public press. Nevertheless, the A.F.S.C. sent a delegate.

In 1948 the American Friends Service Committee sent a spokesman, Julian Cornell, to register the Committee's opposition to the pending anti-Communist Mundt-Nixon Bill before the Senate Judiciary Committee. Protecting legislation designed to protect this country from Communist infiltration and subversion seemed a long way from the Committee's earlier efforts at relieving want and human suffering. At the same time that it was seeking to protect the Communists from any legal restraint or annoyance, spokesmen from the A.F.S.C. strongly opposed any and all forms of military conscription. A statement signed by Henry J. Cadbury as Chairman and Clarence E. Pickett, Executive Secretary of the A.F.S.C., read as follows:

"We stand ready to offer our ministry of aid and counsel to all who for religious or conscientious reasons stand opposed to conscription and war. We recognize that their opposition might take such forms as non-compliance with the law, choosing non-combatant or alternative civilian service, insisting on using their technical knowledge for constructive rather than destructive purposes."

In 1943 a lobbying office of the Quakers was set up in Washington and registered with Congress as the Friends Committee on National Legislation. It favors universal disarmament, relaxation of immigration laws, opposes all counter-subversive legislation and advocates "an unrelenting search for a political settlement between the United States and the Soviet Union."

While the A.F.S.C. and Legislative Committee maintain separate offices they work closely together and the latter was probably set up to protect the tax exemption of the former.

In November, 1949, Yale University Press published "The United States and the Soviet Union," a report prepared for the A.F.S.C. with suggestions for improving relations between the two countries "whose rivalry is disturbing the world." In July of that year a "working party" of the Executive Board of the A.F.S.C. had prepared a 28 page report on American-Russian Relations. It would be difficult to find a more dishonest and one-sided presentation of the basic issues dividing the free world from the Soviet slave labor empire.

The whole dissertation reads like something straight out of Vera Micheles Dean's Foreign Policy Association studies, with the detached philosophical overtones of George Kennan. Indeed, one of Kennan's fallacies that Communism is merely another unpleasant historical development akin to the eruption of Islam in the 7th century which will settle

down and be no problem a thousand years from now is actually used in this A.F.S.C. foreign relations report:

"History offers examples of mortal conflicts between other great movements which in later generations, with the cooling of passions and the tempering of fanaticism, have found it possible to live in peace with each other. In certain respects Islam is a striking example. It is worth noting that the conflict between the Moslem and Christian worlds was finally resolved by the destruction of neither."

The entirely specious argument is next advanced that while Protestants and Catholics sought to exterminate each other in the 16th century, peace between them finally triumphed and greater tolerance finally permitted them to settle down in peaceful co-existence. The glaring dishonesty of this report lies in the fact that its writers, by their quotations from Marxist-Leninist documents, betray the fact that they made a most thorough study of basic Communist documents and were under no illusions as to the true nature of world Communism. That the differences between Communists and the Free World were analogous to those between two main branches of Christianity is, needless to say, sheer sophistry.

In their Basic Considerations of this report, the A.F.S.C. writers recognize the basic elements of the Soviet system to be:

"the authoritarian police state, thought control, banishment of political dissenters to Siberia, secrecy, suspicion of foreigners, and semi-militarization of the government bureaucracy. . ."

and that these elements should not bind us as being a sign of Soviet instability.

All through the rest of this report the A.F.S.C. equates this totalitarian, secret police state as the moral equal of the United States and with truly Olympian impartiality weighs both sides on the balance scales of its judgment. This is not fuzzy or "confused liberal" thinking at all but patent and calculated dishonesty on the part of people piously quoting and constantly referring to the "moral insights" fundamental to the faith they claim to support while at the same time condoning murderous atheistic Communism, the sworn enemy of all religions including Quakerism.

Throughout the report there is a total moral anesthesia as far as Communism is concerned on the part of people who can show acute moral sensitivity as far as minor imperfections are concerned in the social, economic, and political structure of the West. As it would require at least twenty-eight pages to expose or rebut all the fallacies and dishonest semantic trickery in this 28 page A.F.S.C. Report, sentence by sentence and paragraph by paragraph, it is obviously beyond the limits of this study. Suffice to say that this A.F.S.C. Report on American-Russian Relations is an insult to the intelligence and a blatant piece of special pleading with no doubt lavishly praised and quoted in the Soviet press at the time.

The degree of left rudder under which the American Friends Service Committee has been sailing was strikingly revealed in January, 1950, when its Executive Board wrote a letter to Pres. Truman on what our foreign policy should be with respect to Red China. The welfare division of the Quakers, set up to relieve human degradation and misery, came to the defense of the Chinese Communists, the greatest mass murderers and creators of human suffering and degradation in all history, with the following gratuitous and unsolicited advice:

"Further intervention will result in the hardening of Chinese resentment against America and strengthening of Sino-Russian ties. By treating Communist China as an enemy and by refusing to recognize her, we are not isolating China, we are isolating ourselves."

These sentiments must have appealed to the Ford Foundation because its annual report for 1951, listing some \$22,331,736 grants, allotted one million dollars to the American Friends Service Committee "for programs to reduce world tensions and to improve international understanding."

The Communist DAILY WORKER for Feb. 14, 1952 commended the A.F.S.C. for its opposition to the Smith Act. The A.F.S.C. had called a conference on "Liberty and Loyalty" at San Francisco which was attended by over 400 participants. The Communist paper happily reported that the audience "condemned the growing fear and hysteria in the United States today, and stressed the need for firm personal action in bringing others the courage to oppose these measures."

In 1953 the House Committee on Un-American Activities began hearings in Philadelphia on Communism in the public schools. The Friends Service Committee lost no time rushing into print with a release expressing deep concern over the investigation. Lewis M. Hoskins, executive secretary of the organization was quoted as saying: "The Service Committee has been disturbed for some time by trends towards restricting the freedom of the individual. Recent events on a national level, in Philadelphia, and in many of the other communities in which we work, have focussed our attention on the issue . . . Fear is too often our response to uncertainty. Loyalty oaths, legislative abuses of investigatory power, assumption of guilt until innocence is proven, implications of guilt through association and denials of the free platform are some of the products of this fear." (New York Times, Nov. 16, 1953).

Lewis M. Hoskins was listed as a speaker for the Methodist Federation for Social Action according to the DAILY WORKER for September 10, 1951, page 8. The M.F.S.A. had been cited in 1948 by the Washington State Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist front. The Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee's HANDBOOK FOR AMERICANS published in 1956 on page 91 states: "With an eye to religious groups, Communists have formed religious fronts such as the Methodist Federation for Social Action."

Hoskins was also signer of a statement opposing the McCarran-Walter Immigration Law. The statement appeared in a booklet "The Walter-McCarran Law" published by the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, a Communist front and cited as subversive and Communist by the U.S. Attorney General in 1948.

THE DAILY WORKER for June 15, 1954, page 4, carried a statement released by the A.F.S.C. opposing U.S. intervention in Indo-China to save the northern half of that country from Communism. Mr. Hoskins, as executive secretary, issued the release. The N. Y. TIMES of May, 1956 carried a paid advertisement of the Womens International League for Peace and Freedom urging Pres. Eisenhower to ban further H-bomb tests. Mr. Hoskins was a signer of this appeal.

In June 1955, six Quakers toured Soviet Russia. Three of them, Clarence E. Pickett (about whom more later) and two staff members represented the American Friends Service Committee. Upon their return to the United States they made a report which was published in a handsome, slick paper, 94 page brochure. Eugene Lyons, an acknowledged authority on the U.S.S.R., had this to say about the report in the September 22nd, 1956 issue of the NATIONAL REVIEW:

"The pamphlet is as cold-blooded and cynical a document as has come to my attention in many a year, and I am something of a connoisseur of the literature of pro-Soviet apologues. I searched its 94 pages for a word of commitment to the victims of the brutal totalitarian state; a soupcon of sympathy for the millions steeped (as is evident even in this account of conditions) in wretchedness and subjected to routinized injustice; a syllable of sharp criticism of the Communist despots. In vain.

These Quakers blandly record that their appraisal . . . 'of the forces operating in Soviet society' they ruled out 'emotionalism' in favor of 'realism.'"

Evidently they decided that any hint of fellow-feeling for the oppressed or censure for their masters would be contrary to the dictates of 'reason'. To make it more nauseous, the report is utterly self-righteous, invoking religion, peace, and other noble values on every page. The collective authors identify themselves as 'persons of goodwill who disagree fundamentally with Marxism but at the same time are concerned about creating genuine peace and mutual understanding between the Communist and non-Communist worlds.' They deny in effect that there are any decisive differences, except in degree, between the two. . .

At the end of nearly every chapter they offer gratuitous advice to the Communists . . . But this helpful disposition finds no reflection in the moral area. They simply forgot to recommend the abolition of slave labor and confessions by torture, the restoration of some of the elementary human rights that did exist before the Revolution, or most amazing for a religious group—the elimination of the social and economic discriminations to which believing Christians are subjected."

Mr. Lyons' criticism is far too mild and perfunctory. The report is a dishonest fraud on the uninformed and uncritical reader. No fair-minded scholar or observer, no matter how naive could possibly concoct so many distortions, sly innuendoes, adroitly disguised half-truths, and fairy tales without deliberate act of will.

"Meeting the Russians" starts with the incredible proposition that the Soviets in effect are fighting a war and that even Christians in time of war drop all moral principles for the sake of victory. Consider the following not lifted out of context:

"Virtually everything in Communist conduct that shocks the moral principles of non-Communists can thus be explained in terms that are familiar and even acceptable to most non-Communists when demanded by military necessity in time of international war. The list would include systematic spying, censorship, assassinations, mass killings, the taking and killing of hostages, imprisonment without trial, the spreading of false propaganda, the deception of the enemy (whether a class or a nation) by an effective means; mass starvation, sabotage, bribery, and the use of informers and provocateurs. We need look back no further than World War II and the Korean War to find examples of all of these acts committed at one time or another by both sides—not because either side willfully preferred to engage in such acts but because both sides were forced by the logic of war to choose between engaging in these acts and risking defeat."

The above is an exact literal quotation from page 6 of this incredible A.F.S.C. brochure. This sort of logic by men laying special claim to high moral insights would exonerate every criminal since the beginning of time on the simple grounds that he was at war with society and in war everything goes. By the same "logic" all the crimes of the Nazis can be justified on the grounds that they were at war and were merely trying to win.

Even hardened cynical Communists must have lifted their eyebrows a bit in amazement at such utterly amoral and super-cynical defense of their long history of crimes against humanity. As with other A.F.S.C. brochures it would require at least as many pages to expose, refute, and dissect such rank and blatant pro-Soviet propaganda as the 94 page booklet in question because there is falsification, utter non sequitur, sly distortion, or outrageous conclusion in nearly every paragraph.

Chapter VIII on Religion in an Anti-Religious State would require at least a hundred pages of documented refutation. Even such professional pro-Soviet apologists as Corliss Lamont, Frederick Schuman, or their dean, Jerome Davis, himself, must have turned green with envy after reading "Meeting the Russians." We have space for just a few typical examples. "The various Christian churches in the Soviet Union have a dramatic history since the 1917 Revolution." The murder of thousands of priests, ministers, rabbis and mullahs, the wholesale destruction of religious edifices and the confiscation of their heirlooms and precious objects of veneration, the desecration of altars and the vicious campaign of terror against true believers is merely "dramatic" to these men of great moral insight. The alleged persecution of non-Orthodox sects under the Czars gets a nice play but the diabolic persecution and tortures of the Bolsheviks is neatly glossed over in the single word "dramatic." In fact, they even have the unparalleled gall to assert that the Revolution "benefitted" the non-conformists sects by destroying the power of the Orthodox Church. "For the first time they enjoyed a legal status", needless to say, is a flat and unequivocal falsehood in view of the anti-Church decrees of January 1918 and subsequent Soviet suppressive actions. (See NEWS & VIEWS, April 1959, Special Edition).

The report then goes on to state that in 1943 "an agreement was entered into which granted all religious groups in the Soviet Union a measure of freedom in purely religious matters in return for their pledge not to interfere in the spheres of activity that the state reserved to itself." This in the face of a wealth of documentary evidence since 1920, some of it official Soviet material attesting to the long and deadly war of extermination waged by the Bolsheviks against all forms of religion in the U.S.S.R.

And as even a poorly informed person on the Soviets knows the 1943 "agreement" was no agreement at all. It was never published in any official Soviet gazette or register of state laws. It was purely a Stalinist deceptive trick

to bamboozle the United States into believing that religious freedom had been restored in the land of the Soviets in order to keep eleven billion dollars of vital Lend-Lease supplies moving to Russia. And, as any amateur student of Soviet affairs knows, the alleged "relaxation" of persecution of religion and official recognition of the Orthodox church—not any other Protestant or Catholic faiths—was dictated also by considerations of urgent military necessity, that of bolstering collapsing Russian morale under the hammer blows of the onrushing and unstoppable Reichswehr.

The reports contains two paragraphs on "Training for Priests" which would be hilariously funny if it were dealing with something else besides the cynical Communist exploitation of religion as an important arm of the police state. Ample documentation that Russian Orthodox seminaries were infiltrated by secret police agents as far back as 1927 is blithely ignored in this A.F.S.C. brochure. The figures quoted on total church membership and attendance by various denominations are equally fantastic and absurd.

The six touring Quakers at least admitted that they were not permitted to visit either the Soviet-occupied Baltic states or forced labor camps. Several hundred thousand Baltic people have been brutally murdered by the Soviets or uprooted and deported to certain death in Siberia. It would seem that an organization claiming to be deeply concerned over human suffering and degradation due to man-made causes would concentrate its welfare efforts precisely in that area where human distress was greatest, i.e., Soviet Russia, the prison house of nations, as well as Red China.

Neither the martyred Balts nor fifteen million inhabitants of Soviet slave labor camps are ever mentioned again in the 94 page A.F.S.C. booklet. Instead the reader is regaled with pages of trivia about living conditions in the few unimportant Soviet towns which the Quaker delegation was allowed to visit.

Indeed, in order apparently to help discredit what the Soviets assert are "capitalist slanders" about forced labor camps, "Meeting the Russians" glowingly reports new communities and colonies in Russia being built by "labor not quite forced."

The Quaker group visited seven Baptist congregations, several Orthodox churches and church leaders, a theological seminary, a church of the Old Believers, and two Jewish synagogues. They also had the great honor of conferring with Metropolitan Nikolai in Moscow, not, of course, realizing then that this old scoundrel was really nothing more than a Secret Police agent. A defecting Soviet Secret Police Officer, Deriabine, recently confirmed in LIFE magazine what NEWS and VIEWS and others had charged years ago—that Metropolitan Nikolai was no bona fide leader at all but actually a secret police spy planted inside the Russian Orthodox Church.

(TO BE CONTINUED IN JUNE 1959 NEWS AND VIEWS)

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WORLD FELLOWSHIP 1959 SUMMER CAMP

The entire July, 1958, issue of *News and Views* was devoted to an expose of World Fellowship summer camp at Conway, New Hampshire, operated by Communist fronting Willard Uphaus. We documented the front records of some 23-no-less—of Dr. Uphaus' speakers and lecturers. The list of prospective speakers had been taken from promotional material mailed out by World Fellowship.

The Church League has just received this year's advertising material on the summer camp to be operated by Uphaus this year. We are invited to "come to World Fellowship for a Balanced Program of Fun, Fellowship and Discussion." The theme this summer will be "What Are We Doing About Our World?" The sessions run from June 22 to September 7th. This year, however, the names of the speakers are carefully omitted—"a detailed announcement about speakers" is to be made later. Only the names of Royal France, Allyn and Adele Rickett, and Charles Coe appear on the flyer. Their records were fully covered in our July, 1958 issue.

*See the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for May 7, 1959, Page A3885. Congressman Alvin M. Bentley read the entire April 1959 issue of *News & Views* concerning Metropolitan Nikolai into the RECORD on that day.

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Counterattack, an anti-Communist newsletter published in New York for January 9, 1953, stated that Pickett had been associated with Communists fronts and "declined to comment on the accusation." The *Daily Worker* for January 11, 1952, reported Mr. Pickett as returning from a three months trip to Europe and "condemning U.S. Foreign policy." According to this Communist paper "Pickett told reporters it may sound strange for a pacifist to talk in terms of revolution but he felt that the due processes of social revolution would produce democratic rights and blessings to backward areas of the world where the U.S. is sitting on a number of explosive lids." It should be noted that this was during the height of the Korean War where thousands of Americans had already died in combat against Communist invaders.

In 1952 Jerome Davis, a notorious pro-Soviet apologist and supporter of Communist fronts, published a book, "Peace, War and You." Davis's book attacked U.S. action in Korea, praised the Stalin-Hitler pact of 1939 which led to World War II, and lavishly praised Stalin as a truly great statesman. The bibliography was loaded with titles by known Communists and fellow travelers. Clarence E. Pickett wrote the introduction to the Davis opus. (*Counterattack* January 9, 1953, page 3).

In Houston, Texas on January 30 and 31, 1959 the American Friends Service Committee arranged a so-called "Institute of International Relations" at the First Christian Church and the Jewish Community Center with the theme: "The United Nations and World Peace". Featured attraction was no less than Nicolai Bourov, First Secretary of the USSR delegation to the UN, who declared that all was peace and light within the Soviet Union and that "complete religious freedom prevails."

Some of the common folks present did not accept Bourov's statements at face value. Bourov was left quite flustered when a Hungarian refugee interrupted the forum for a five minute denunciation of the Soviet leaders. A patriotic housewife arose and asked Mr. Bourov the very pointed question "Do you believe in God?" The Soviet official thundered back: "No!"

At one point Bourov remarked: "You will have socialism in America. You will change the system yourselves."

All of this took place in buildings labeled as houses of worship in Houston. The moderator was one Stewart Meacham, director of the American Friends Service Committee's international affairs program, graduate of Union Theological Seminary, former assistant to the President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and former Methodist missionary to India.

Meacham was expelled by the Indian Government. He sought to disrupt a missionary conference in Landour in August 1953 where he was accused by fellow missionaries and pastors of "following the Communist Party line". He defended the Communist thesis, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need", and further defended Communist leaders in the World Council of Churches.

The Rev. Alton J. Shirey, pastor of the Champion Hill Presbyterian Church, Cullendale, Arkansas, reported, March 10, 1954 that he knows Meacham to be a communist.

In a letter dated January 18, 1954 Rev. Shirey stated: "I have heard that you recently had a 'run in' with Stewart Meacham in India. I know him well. We were students at Louisville Presbyterian Seminary at the same time. Then

we were both Socialists. I later became converted to pre-millennialism, while he became converted to communism. He has gone to India to prepare the way for communism to take over in that vast country. Frankly, I consider Stewart Meacham one of the most dangerous men I know anything about today."

Meacham is also Executive Director of World Literacy, Inc., 156 Fifth Ave., New York City, which is under the leadership of one Frank C. Laubach. This outfit was organized in 1951 to aid the Committee on World Literacy and Christian Literature. It is now a functional committee of the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES! On January 7, 1959 Meacham's name appeared in a large ad in the Washington (D.C.) Post calling for the abolition of the Committee On Un-American Activities of the U.S. House of Representatives!

Also appearing on the program at these two houses of worship in Houston was one Ajai Kumar Mitra, a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, who participated in the civil disobedience campaign against the British Government in 1942, resulting in his imprisonment for one year. Mitra glories in his imprisonment and proudly asserts that "I still have the scars on my back to show for it."

When the Hungarian refugee arose in the Houston forum and charged that Bourov was "well aware that some 20,000 Hungarians were butchered by Russians after the revolt", Mitra in a heated passion stood up, turned to the Hungarian and said: "All hatreds must be put aside in order that mutual understanding may be reached between nations—a step in the direction of peace."

Evidently, Mitra, Meacham and company do not care to discuss Soviet atrocities or reason as to why the Soviets have never become tired of butchering anybody, including non-violent resisters! Certainly, Bourov and the Kremlin leaders must have laughed up their sleeves to realize that self-styled pacifists could aid the Soviet cause in such a manner in American houses of worship!

GENERAL SUMMATION

Further comment on the American Friends Service Committee would seem superfluous. The record set forth above speaks for itself. A worthy charitable organization founded by a fine religious body, which had performed an inspiring role after World War I in binding up the wounds of war, degenerated through the years, particularly after 1929, into an outright political and social agitational operation to a point where many Quakers themselves are said to be gravely disturbed over its present activities. The problem is one which obviously the Religious Society of Friends must themselves solve and rectify.

The witness for peace and international harmony is undeniably the single most important responsibility for all true Christians. To pervert and distort this witness by the most blatant and one-sided pro-Soviet propaganda is a betrayal of all that Christ stood for and for which He died on the cross. The line of demarcation between Christianity and Communism, which is merely another word for Anti-Christ, is sharp and well-defined. A child can easily discern and understand it. Those who cannot or do not grasp the fundamental issue at stake and who work for the advance of World Communism, ignorantly and unwittingly or deliberately and knowingly, have a fearful burden on their conscience.

Worker for March 25 considered the symposium of sufficient importance to give it two full columns of highly rationed space.

In the Dec. 15, 1957, issue of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* the American Friends Service Committee reiterated its 6-point program to reduce international tensions and promote peace. The program was: "1. Cancel our nuclear-weapons tests. 2. Start disarmament by gradual steps. 3. Share our resources more fully. 4. Consider the problems of men more important than the promotion of alliances. 5. Strengthen the United Nations as an inclusive and responsible agency for peace. And 6. Seek ways to bring men together across the Iron and Bamboo curtains." The statement conceded that there might be some risk in this new approach but that these risks were not as great as continuing to balance on the knife edge of terror.

That same year the service organization, set up to succor human suffering, criticized the State Department for its travel restrictions on U. S. passports. A statement issued by the A.F.S.C. board of directors said:

"There are those travelers whose business it is to interpret, to inform, and to educate, and there are those, among them Friends, who have felt a religious call to engage in reconciling efforts across the world as the spirit moves them."

The statement admitted that some members of the Society of Friends had enjoyed exception so that the protest apparently was made in behalf of non-Quakers who desired to travel to Red China or other countries on the State Department's restricted list. (*N.Y. Times* March 24, 1957.)

Through the years the leftward, ultra-liberal policies and activities of the American Friends Service Committee have brought disquiet and deep concern to many conservative Quakers devoted to maintaining the purity of their ancient faith. The Quaker witness, however, suffers from one serious disability—Friends traditionally reject all criticism of their own members. All decisions in meetings must be unanimous otherwise no action is taken. Those who disapprove of the activities of the A.F.S.C., therefore, have no recourse except to silent prayer for reformation and enlightenment for those they believe to be in grave error.

A Texas Meeting, however, did reach unanimity in 1956 and it utterly rejected and disowned the A.F.S.C. The Friendswood Quarterly Meeting of Houston, Texas and part of the Kansas Yearly Meeting, embracing five southwestern states petitioned the parent body to stop all further support of the American Friends Service Committee. The Friendswood Quarterly Meeting numbers about a thousand members.

Pastor Harold Selleck of the Bayshore Friends Church, where the meeting disowning the A.F.S.C. was held, stated to the press that:

"There has been an increasing dissatisfaction through the past several years with the committee because it has passed out of the control of the church and has adopted political and religious standards incompatible with the Texas Quakers."

He added the charge that:

"the committee fosters liberal unitarian religious doctrines, further communist propaganda, that the Institutes for International Relations are schools for communist propaganda and liberal religion, and that no member of Texas Quakers is a member of the American Friends Service Committee."

Mr. Selleck has been recording clerk for the Kansas Yearly Meeting for thirty years. He had also served as a member of the national board of the A.F.S.C. as representative of the Kansas Yearly Meeting, so he was speaking from intimate first hand knowledge of the Committee's activities.

CLARENCE E. PICKETT—GUIDING GENIUS

Previously in this report we stated that the American Friends Service Committee was reorganized in 1929 and shortly thereafter took a decided turn to the left. By coincidence Clarence E. Pickett also joined this Quaker service committee in 1929, according to "Who's Who in America." The same source states that Mr. Pickett was born in Illinois in 1884 and was graduated from the Hartford Theological Seminary in 1913. He was ordained to the ministry of the Society of Friends that same year. After serving in several pastorates in this country and Canada and teaching at Earlham College, Indiana, he became executive secretary of the A.F.S.C. in 1929.

A news item in the *Norristown Pa. Times-Herald* for April 2, 1959, evidently based on a press release adds the following:

"In 1950 he was made honorary secretary of the American Friends Service Committee and worked to improve East-West relationships as a Quaker representative at the United Nations. Since 1955 he has been executive secretary emeritus of the A.F.S.C. He participated in a good will mission to Russia in 1955 and in 1956 was chairman of the Friends General Conference. In 1957, jointly with Norman Cousins, he helped organize the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. He recently paid an extensive visit to the Far East and was a delegate to the Fifth World Order Conference of the World Council of Churches."

The latter statement is an obvious mistake, and should read "the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A."

Now let us briefly summarize Mr. Pickett's other activities not to be found in "Who's Who" or in A.F.S.C. press releases but nevertheless all in the public domain.

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| SPONSOR | Federation for Repeal of the Levering Act. (A California anti-Communist law) Page 15, California Senate Investigating Committee on Education. 1953. |
| SIGNER | Advertisement in the <i>N. Y. Times</i> for June 6, 1951 supporting Supreme Court Justices Douglas and Black in their dissents on the constitutionality of the Smith Act. See also <i>Daily Worker</i> for same date. |
| SPEAKER | Dinner of the AMERICAN RUSSIAN INSTITUTE (a Communist front) in 1948. |
| SIGNER | Appeal to U.S. longshoremen to load relief supplies for shipment to Jugo-Slavia by the AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR JUGOSLAV RELIEF, 1948. (another Communist front). Tito's planes had shot down an unarmed American plane killing five American fliers. N.Y. longshoremen thereupon refused to load Yugoslav ships. |
| SPONSOR | Two day conference and forum Jan. 30 and 31, 1953 under auspices of EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE (a Communist front). <i>Daily Worker</i> page 2, January 20, 1953. |
| SIGNER | Appeal to cancel H bomb tests, front page <i>Daily Worker</i> , Dec. 2, 1957. |
| SIGNER | Paid advertisement in the <i>N.Y. Times</i> , October 16, 1958, "America Needs a New Foreign Policy." (Identical with that laid down in Communist line publications, that one of appeasement of the USSR.) |
| SIGNER | Open letter to Pres. Eisenhower asking for full executive clemency for convicted Communists Gilbert Green and Harry Winston. (<i>Worker</i> page 5, October 5, 1958.) |
| SIGNER | Appeal by "35 notables" asking that further Smith Act prosecutions against seven indicted Denver Communists be dropped. Page 5, <i>Worker</i> , Jan. 4, 1959. |
| SIGNER | Paid advertisement <i>Washington Post Times-Herald</i> petitioning Congress to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities Jan. 7, 1959. |

be well enough disciplined to *refrain from individual acts of violence no matter what the provocation*. The whole success of the resistance depends on meeting the enemy on a level and in a manner against which he cannot retaliate effectively. He understands violence, and he is prepared to cope with it ruthlessly and drastically. He must be given no excuse to do so."

The answer to all this patently dishonest and dangerous nonsense, of course, is that it has been tried and it has always failed to work against brutalitarians. The fact that Indians were able to make things unpleasant for civilized, Christian and humanitarian Britishers in India is speciously offered as an example of how to confound and beat the Soviets. Hollanders tried this prescription against the Nazis during World War II. They refused to unload ships or run trains for the German occupiers. The Nazis merely began shooting railroad workers in batches of ten and the trains started running again because in the last analysis after they had killed all Dutch railroad workers they would have brought in German workers to run the trains and replace them in Germany with slave labor from elsewhere.

The irrefutable lesson of history, as even the Quaker authors of this dishonest pamphlet must fully well know, is that while love and non-violent resistance on occasions may work wonders against humane Christians it is totally and fatally useless against ruthless determined Communists, barbarians, and other totalitarians. Where and when in forty years of Soviet massacres, mass starvation campaigns to liquidate the Kulaks, slave labor camps, deportations of entire nations and peoples and horror upon horror, has one single instance of non-violent resistance ever been recorded? It may have been tried but unfortunately those who did, did not live to tell the tale.

The pamphlet writers in their summary conclusion admit that their advice may not work and that it may conceivably cause great suffering. The fact that people might be killed does not disturb them. "We have tried to make it clear that readiness to accept suffering—rather than to inflict it on others—is the essence of the non-violent life, and that we must be prepared, if called upon, to pay the ultimate price." Here again the answer to all of this vicious and dishonest nonsense would seem to be "Inasmuch as you counsel us to accept suffering and even death to carry out *your* ideas why don't you demonstrate the sincerity of your belief by setting the rest of us an example and departing for Russia or Red China and accepting suffering, and possibly even death, while preaching your ideas of non-violent resistance?" *Why not test your ideas in the crucible of actual practice?*

From the above brief analyses of various A.F.S.C. publications having no relationship whatever to that organization's original objectives, it must be obvious to the average American that any propaganda, no matter how peacefully disguised, which disarms, divides, confuses and demoralizes the free world while at the same time exerts not the slightest impact or influence on the leadership of world Communism is certainly not helping defend this country and must therefore stand self-indicted as only aiding world Communism.

The Biblical injunction "By their fruits ye shall know them" is particularly applicable to the American Friends Service Committee. Let us examine a few of their fruits since 1950.

In May, 1952, the executive committee of the Pacific Southwest Regional Office of the A.F.S.C. at Pasadena, California issued a "Quaker Statement on EDUCATION FOR WORLD UNDERSTANDING." The service organization set up to relieve human suffering and misery, was now "concerned

about the growing antagonism toward education for world understanding in our public school." The leaflet then goes on to disparage the fears and apprehensions in our local communities over the growing tensions between the United States and the U.S.S.R. It also deplores all suspicion of and opposition to the use of UNESCO materials in public schools.

The Philadelphia EVENING BULLETIN of June 2, 1955 carried a news item that "Quaker Group Calls Violence More Evil than Communism." The opening sentence stated: "It is an unsound premise that Communism is the greatest evil of the day, the American Friends Service Committee said today." The release was in connection with the publication of "Speak Truth To Power."

Later that same year in August, twenty so-called "conscientious objectors" staged a demonstration in New York during an air raid drill and refused to take shelter. They were promptly arrested. The American Friends Service Committee immediately assigned counsel and allocated funds to the defense of the twenty demonstrators. (N.Y. Times, August 26, 1955). The news account went on: "The Quaker group is also setting up a grant-and-loan fund in its Chicago office to aid Illinois state employees ousted for refusing to sign a non-communist oath."

Bayard Rustin, who acted as secretary of the defense group, and Abraham J. Muste were among the demonstrators. The Rev. Muste's long front record has been previously documented in *News and Views* for June, 1958.

In 1954 the A.F.S.C. held its usual summer "Institutes on International Relations." This year they did not use Alger Hiss or Louis Dolivet—Hiss was still in prison for lying about his espionage activities and Dolivet, alias Udeanu, alias Brecher, was barred from ever re-entering this country. So as pinch-hitters the A.F.S.C. used Roger Baldwin, A. J. Muste, Milton Mayer, and Otto Nathan—among others. Baldwin hardly requires any further descriptive comment; Mayer made history years ago at Syracuse when he let his one world enthusiasm get the best of his delivery by happily advising his audience that in order to wipe out nationalism and patriotism as a prerequisite to one world government it might be necessary "to haul down the flag, trample on it and yes, spit on it." He later amended this and swore he was misunderstood or misquoted. Nathan was Einstein's executor who was convicted of contempt of Congress but luckily escaped a prison sentence by judicial reversal.

In 1956 Henry J. Cadbury, signing himself merely "Chairman," wrote a letter to the *Philadelphia Bulletin* which appeared in the July 19th issue defining the A.F.S.C. position on civil defense. After "serious thought to the complicated problem of civil defense" the relief and welfare organization had decided that civil defense was not "linked to work for peace." As they were opposed to all war—hot, cold, or psychological, they must of necessity also oppose civil defense, Cadbury's letter stated. The best and only defense Cadbury advised was to "show friendliness towards those who suspect us, improve the welfare of the most needy through international co-operation," etc.

In March, 1957, an A.F.S.C. committee member Lyle Tatum, chaired a forum in Philadelphia where representatives from five ultra radical groups debated "What's Ahead for the American Left." The Independent Socialist League (Trotskyite and since defunct), The Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyite Communist), The Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation, The Fellowship of Reconciliation, and The Communist Party, U.S.A., were represented. The *Daily*

dom of movement, speech, and press, prosecution for beliefs rather than acts, the reversal of the traditional presumption of innocence until proof of guilt, the gradual militarization of our minds and our society. . .

"Anti-Communism," according to this booklet has brought on this dreadful "erosion of values".

It might be added that only the Communists, pseudo-liberals, and Quakers seem to be aware of this "erosion". Socialists, radicals, non-conformists, and the bulk of our population seem to be totally ignorant of any such alleged restrictions on freedom of speech, press, and movement.

The rest of the pamphlet is full of similar equivocations, sophistries, non-sequiturs deceptively toggled out as inelectable conclusions, and half-truths masquerading as moral pronouncements and final judgments.

Indeed, "Speak Truth To Power" goes a bit further and counsels civil disobedience to achieve what may be considered supremely desirable moral objectives. The example of a Delaware Quaker abolitionist who suffered financial ruin a hundred years ago when he persisted in running an underground station for fugitive slaves is cited as a sterling example for conscientious pacifists to follow today. "Conscientious refusal to take loyalty oaths, to do military service, to inform against others, or to suppress opinion" should be made the basis of civil disobedience. (page 57).

The A.F.S.C. pamphlet naturally supports the cause of colonial independence all over the world but carefully and studiously refrains from advocating freedom for the dozen or more nations forcibly enslaved by Communism. The whole booklet is a long and most thorough criticism of western lack of moral insights but the Soviet slave empire is let off easily with a few mild slap on the wrist observations. *More significant* and revealing is the fact that while "Speak Truth To Power" is full of prescriptions, moral homilies, and pronouncements of what we must do in America to be saved there is nary a word as to what Soviet leaders should do to reduce world tensions and insure peace. True to the creed of all fraudulent "liberals" all the advice and criticism is directed at America—none, or at least nothing more than a few empty words, are ever directed at the Soviets. Nor do these pretendedly pious and devoted men, who are willing to "suffer" for their ideas and faith in this country, indicate the slightest desire to settle behind the Iron Curtain where there are unlimited opportunities for real suffering. A few years in a Soviet slave labor camp deep in the Arctic regions mining coal or cutting timber under the brutal conditions suffered by millions might give these pious lecturers on moral duties some real first hand moral insights that they so demonstrably lack today in the soft comforts and easy-going tolerance of this country.

Suggested Plan of Action for these Pious Pacifists:

A free ticket to a Soviet slave labor camp is the easiest thing in the world to obtain. Just sneak into Soviet Russia without a passport and get yourself ten years at hard labor for "espionage." Then come out and give us some real moral preachments, and the practicability of "non-violent resistance" against totally amoral Communists.

The A.F.S.C. answer to dynamic Communism, a factual new pseudo-religion, as well as a threat to Western civilization and Christianity in all other spheres, is really quite elementary—"non-violent insight".

As a pre-condition, however, we must first strengthen and improve our own democracy—a favorite and well

worn cliché of the phony liberal. We must eliminate racial discrimination, "religious intolerance" (where?), "we must be more sensitive to the deadening impact of our industrial life", improve our housing, medical care, prisons and at the same time insist on maximum freedom of thought and expression lest we lapse unwittingly into a "police state". We should give our support to the great social revolutions going on all over the world. (So do the Soviets).

We should share our material blessings with all of the rest of the world even though "our own standard of living might be seriously affected but the dividends also would be large":

"We should get rid of our military establishment. Various avenues might be taken to achieve this result. Many suggest that the most probable and most practical approach would be through the simple transfer of the security function to a world organization. The U.N. would assume the responsibility for defense and might well be converted in the process into a federal instrument in much the same manner as the thirteen American colonies substituted a federal government for the unsatisfactory Articles of Confederation." (page 62).

You Go First!

The A.F.S.C. pamphlet cheerfully admits that it might be considered madness for a nation to disarm alone in an armed world, but that it is "quite possible that the Soviet Union, confronted with such a change in American behaviour, might startle us with a new response". This is followed by way of argument by one of the most thoroughly dishonest and warped pieces of reasoning it would be possible to conceive. If the United States "had not been so preoccupied with power concepts" and if "we had been free from the involvement of re-arming West Germany" we would not have had to stand by helplessly while the heroic East Germany uprising of June 1953 was crushed by the Soviets.

The real explanation, as any child who can read fully knows, was that our government, headed by an ailing president, was too pusillanimous to file even a mild protest or to lend the slightest degree of military or moral aid to the embattled German freedom fighters lest we provoke the Soviets to war.

If the United States practiced A.F.S.C. non-violence it "would so change the climate of world opinion that no power on earth could oppose it effectively." We would not, of course, let the Soviet and Red Chinese invaders overrun and enslave us. "Non-violent resistance, as has been demonstrated:

on a large scale in India and on a smaller scale in many other places, offers greater promise of confounding and overcoming an enemy without destroying our values or our world."

The A.F.S.C. people do not tell us what to do if the Communists destroy us as they have entire populations in the Baltic states, the Ingush, Volga Germans, and other races. Here is what we should do:

"The first necessity is non-cooperation. The population must resolutely refuse to carry out the orders of the invader. They would not operate factories to provide the invader with military supplies. They would not unload his ships. They would perform no services of any kind for him. At the same time they would try through their words and their lives to show the meaning of a free and democratic society. Second, the population must maintain good will toward the individual soldier of the invading forces. However difficult this is in practice, it is clear that the effective use of non-violent resistance has always demanded that a clear distinction be drawn between hatred of an evil policy and respect for the human instrument who is caught up in its execution. Good will is the spiritual weapon of non-violence, just as civil disobedience is its physical weapon. Finally, the population must

News and Views

Eternal Vigilance Is Forever The Price Of Freedom

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THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

By KARL BAARSLAG

(Continued from May 1959 News & Views)

The whole chapter "Religion in an Anti-Religious State" could be transposed into a book on Russia by Sydney and Beatrice Webb or into the writing of Jerome Davis or Corliss Lamont without any noticeable ideological break of continuity whatever.

The concluding chapter of "Meeting the Russians" is a specious plea for tolerance and understanding for the Soviets, i.e., for peaceful co-existence. National rivalries, mutual fears and suspicions, and lack of understanding must be eliminated and replaced with love. After conceding the monolithic totalitarian nature of the Soviet system the six Quakers nevertheless feel certain that "forces are at work that will certainly make the future very different from the past." They also noted "some relaxation of internal controls."

There is nothing in the report to suggest that the six A.F.S.C. tourists interceded with the Communists for greater tolerance and understanding on their part towards religious belief in Russia. There is nothing in the report to indicate that these men of "deep moral insights" raised any protest or even mild question about the degradation and inhumanity practiced on Soviet political prisoners running into the millions. Soviet leadership is accepted passively as immutable and beyond criticism—all the change of heart and ideological position must be done by the West in order to lessen tensions and bring about greater understanding.

In 1955 the American Friends Service Committee published a 71 page booklet entitled "Speak Truth To Power—A Quaker search for an alternative to Violence." The brochure is advertised as a "study of international conflicts" and makes no pretense whatever of being concerned with relief or welfare. True to the traditional Quaker position on violence and war, "Speak Truth to Power" rejects all military power either as a deterrent to Soviet military expansionism or even as a defense of this country in case of actual invasion.

In the preface or "A Note To The Reader" we are advised that:

"For more than thirty-five years the American Friends Service Committee has worked among those who suffer, recognizing no enemies, and seeking only to give expression to the love of God in service. Out of this experience, gained under all kinds of governments and amidst all kinds of people, has come some appreciation of the problems of peacemaking in the modern world."

The note then goes on to say as a result of this valuable experience the Committee had issued over a period of the past five years a series of studies on possible ways to ease tensions and move toward international peace.

We are then advised that these studies on foreign affairs and admonitions as to just what U.S. foreign policy should be towards Soviet Russia and Red China "are not official pronouncements but in the interest of stimulating public discussion of the issues raised and in the hope that such discussion will contribute to the formation of policies that will bring peace." We leave to the individual reader the question as to the honesty of this device to influence public opinion on a vital issue and yet disclaim any responsibility for it as the official position of the A.F.S.C.

Space considerations prohibit an extended analysis of this really astounding document distributed merely to "stimulate public discussion."

"Speak Truth To Power" first conjures up the stereotyped bugaboo of all the 'lefties and liberals—the grisly spectre of a world atomized in one gigantic nuclear holocaust. This has also been fairly well worked over by every Communist propaganda media for the past ten years; so, here the Quakers not only present nothing new but merely another warmed over dish of the same Communist nuclear blackmail calculated to frighten the West into ever more concessions, retreats and appeasement.

Next comes the characteristic equation so dear to the hearts of all pseudo-liberals and secret pro-Soviet sympathizers—that the United States and the USSR are both equally and jointly guilty of "mutual suspicions and fears." The Soviets "emerged from the war still distrustful of the West, still confident of its world mission and now vested with new power and new prestige." The booklet's authors do not explain why the Soviets should remain distrustful of their allies after receiving eleven billion dollars worth of lend-lease, a second front in France, and victory over Germany whom they never could have defeated alone. The Quakers however, gloss over the whole business neatly by saying that the USSR merely exploited "every possible means to secure its national interest and safety" just as the West was doing!

The North Korean Communist invasion of South Korea is dishonestly described as "the cold war first erupted into bloody violence." The United Nations' indictment of North Korea as the aggressor is craftily twisted into a spontaneous "eruption" for which no one apparently was responsible. In perfect vocal agreement with the Communists who sing the same song, the Quaker report finds that since 1945 we have suffered from:

"a steady erosion of the values that were formerly considered the very foundation stones of American democracy. Spying on fellow citizens, anonymous denunciations, restrictions on free-

book on communism. Neither do these self-appointed "leaders" of the Protestant Churches mention any other accurate, truthful account of the communist criminal conspiracy. Rather, the National Council and its discredited World Order Study Conference, under the guise of a "peace" campaign, elects to repeat fabricated, false "history" which was deliberately manufactured by the communists as part of their world campaign to deceive and confuse the people of the free world.

This, of course, is not the only pro-communist falsehood in the Study Material. A few further examples:

RED PROPAGANDA: The use of the word "leaders" to identify those at the top of the heap in the Soviet Socialist States.

FACT: The communist dictators cannot "lead" anybody at the point of a bayonet. The word "leader" is false propaganda, because it implies that the people are willingly following the red gangster regime.

RED PROPAGANDA: Adlai Stevenson mentioned "the angry hostility of the Chinese leaders (there's that word again!) to the United States. This is the emotion which dominates 640,000,000 Chinese."

FACT: It is totally false that the Chinese people are in accord with the communist dictatorship in their hatred of free America. This was dramatically proved in "Operation Big Switch," after the Korean War, when only a tiny percentage of the Chinese POWs elected to return to their communist controlled homeland.

RED PROPAGANDA: The "cold war" is a result of our "illusions," our "fear of communism," our "adventures in containment," etc.

FACT: It is nothing less than straight communist propaganda to allege that the "cold war" is entirely and completely the fault of the free world, and in particular the United States. Hence, to the communists, "liquidating the cold war" means that the United States should cease all effective opposition to soviet imperialism.

RED PROPAGANDA: Some field commander, or unbalanced officer, can launch an atomic war.

FACT: The Constitution of the United States specifically provides that Congress, and only Congress, has the authority to declare war. It is not only constitutional, but physically impossible for any individual in the United States armed services to start a war.

SUMMARY

We have been able to mention only a tiny proportion of the massive volume of communist and pro-Soviet propaganda in the 15 NPOE & AFP booklets.

One may complain that, after all, it is not necessarily subversive that the red dictators are called "leaders," or that Red Chinese aggression is called a "crusade," or that it is falsely claimed that there was, in history, a "Russian Bolshevik Revolution."

It is perfectly true that any one, or possibly two or three of these "slips" might not be serious. But when we find that this same pattern continues, for book after book, chapter after chapter, page after page, sentence after sentence, the sheer massive weight of communist propaganda becomes nothing less than devastating. A single pebble dropped on your head may do little harm; a painful of pebbles can cave in your skull.

Were these "errors"? Common sense tells us otherwise. If these were mistakes, at least some of the mistakes would be in our favor!

It is my opinion that, this time, those responsible for foisting this fraud upon the Protestant Churches have overplayed their hand. When the bright light of truth is thrown on the NPOE material, its bright red hue stands out all too clearly. Protestant Churches, Protestant Pastors, Protestant laymen are not nearly as asleep as they once were. They know a great deal more about communism than they did ten, five, or even one year ago. And they are learning more all the time. Because of this, it is my conviction that the NPOE & AFP will, in the end, prove to be an abject failure. It may even prove to be the end of the National Council of Churches.

YOUR ATTENTION PLEASE:

Here is a Bulletin which is of vital interest to every American. This should be distributed in large quantities to church members, ministers, and especially to businessmen who make contributions to churches.

COST: ☐ If sent to you in quantity package;
\$9 per hundred—\$70 per thousand.
☐ If mailed by us to lists you furnish or to our lists:
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News & Views
Date of Issue:

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The purpose of this Bulletin and all of our other editions is to inform the American people concerning those subversive forces which are methodically penetrating every major phase of our society. Once the American people are informed, they will do something to stop this infiltration. You can help inform them.

CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA
1407 Hill Avenue, Wheaton, Illinois

Can this be because of stupidity? Were the instigators of this device clumsy amateurs, who simply didn't know what they were doing? It is true that, as we have already explained, names of perfectly honest people were tossed into the committee lists, thus providing proper and respectable cover. But the anonymous authors of the Nationwide Program pamphlets and booklets are much too slick; much too clever; they display an expert touch which is simply not the work of an amateur.

COMMUNIST LIES

In addition to the slanted, distorted, angled, loaded and twisted material in the National Council of Churches "Nationwide Program for Peace" booklets, we are also fed straight communist propaganda lies. Let's take just one. On page 21 of the "Christian Responsibility" booklet, we read that the "cold war" (their quotes) "had its roots in the Russian Bolshevik Revolution of 1917".

It is incredible that a lie of such magnitude and importance could be contained in so few words; but this communist lie, which is a deliberate fabrication of "history", is literally the key-stone of the whole facade of communist propaganda.

In the first place, strictly speaking it is technically inaccurate to link the words "Communist" and "Bolshevik" since, as we have already pointed out, the communists have never been a "majority" of anything. However, we cannot, of course, hold the National Council of Churches accountable for this bit of Red deceit, since the term "Bolshevik" has come to be generally recognized as the label used, albeit fraudulently, by the communists.

In the second place, to link the word "communist" (or Bolshevik) with the term "revolution" is equally false . . . a total untruth. Communism is not revolutionary; it never has been revolutionary; it never will be revolutionary, because communism by its very essence is reactionary. In the original sense of the words, "revolutionary" or "liberal" mean something new, something forward, a movement towards freedom, a release from the shackles of state power and control, the liberation of man from state authority. Communism is, and always has been, the complete opposite. It increases the power and authority of the state at the expense of society. It diminishes the freedom of the individual to the vanishing point. It makes of every man, including the member of the communist apparatus, a slave to the state.

However, the communist propagandist wants you to think that communism is something different; that he may be compared, let us say, to Tom Paine, or Abraham Lincoln, or to a number of other great "revolutionaries". It is to their advantage to claim that they are moving forward in history, when in fact they are plunging nations and peoples under communism backward at least a thousand years.

But the most important part of the lies is the very term itself, "Russian Bolshevik Revolution". There was, of course, no such thing as a Russian Bolshevik Revolution. It is only important that the communists make you think that such an event occurred in history. The importance of the lie, to the structure of communist falsehood, becomes apparent when you examine the truth.

What really happened? Culminating a long struggle by the Russian people against the tyranny of the Tsar, a series of uprisings and demonstrations in early 1917 ended, in the middle of March of that year, in the abdication of the Tsarist government and the formation of a pro-

visional government of the Russian people under the leadership of Kerensky. This was a true revolution, in the same tradition and for the same goals as the American Revolution; to secure a greater measure of individual freedom from autocratic government.

For the first time in the long history of the Russian people, freedom was established. Amnesty was declared for political prisoners; government restrictions against people because of nationality and religion were outlawed; kangaroo courts were abolished and trial by jury was decreed; equal rights were declared for women; exile to Siberian camps were abolished; freedom of the press and of assembly were declared. Also, the Russian people, through their provisional government leaders, laid plans for a free election to be held in the fall of that same year, 1917.

What part did the "Bolsheviks" play in the Russian Revolution? Mr. W. Cleon Skousen, in his excellent book, "The Naked Communist" (published 1958 by the Ensign Publishing Company, Salt Lake City, Utah) explains:

"The most significant thing about the abdication of the Tsar and the setting up on the people's Provisional Government in Russia, is the simple historical fact that the Bolsheviks, or Communists, had practically nothing to do with it! This revolution had been initiated by the same kind of people as those who started the revolt against the Tsar in 1905. They represented Russia's best people—the liberal aristocrats, the intellectuals, the businessmen, the millions of peasants and the millions of workers. But the *Bolshevik leaders were nowhere in sight.* (Italics mine). Lenin was in exile in Switzerland, Trotsky was in exile in New York and Joseph Stalin was in prison in Siberia."

Not until a month after the Russian Revolution did Lenin manage to get back into Russia. Further, he was able to do so only with the aid and assistance of the German totalitarian regime, which was at that moment waging war against Russia! As enemies, fighting the Russian people, the German militarists most certainly would not have helped Lenin *unless they knew* that Lenin, too, was an enemy of the Russian people.

Immediately, Lenin began to utilize his well-developed tactics as a wrecker, gained by long experience in his ruthless search for power. And so the communists begin working towards the violent overthrow and destruction, not of the totalitarian Tsar, but of the free government of the Russian people. Within six months the evil deed was done.

Free elections had been promised the people, and the self-styled "bolsheviks" either felt they could not afford to "lose face" by preventing the elections, or else they had actually swallowed their own propaganda and had come to assume that they really did have "majority" support. In any event, the elections were held on November 25, 1917. **OVER 75% OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE VOTED AGAINST THE COMMUNISTS!** That was the last free election ever permitted the Russian people. When the freely elected government met in January of 1918, the armed gangsters of Lenin ruthlessly moved into the assembly, aimed their bristling rifles at the representatives elected by the people, and ordered them to get out. And that was that.

Of course this was not revolution, it was insurrection, an act of treason against the will of the majority of the Russian workers and peasants. Hence it was that the Russian people were plunged back under a dictatorship far worse, far more cruel, far more ruthless, than anything they had known under the Tsar.

But the National Council of Churches, in their NPOE & AFP material, makes no mention of Mr. Skousen and his

ence and complacency . . . disastrous characteristics which have, in fact, played right into the hands of the Communists and which have contributed, more than anything else, to the fact that the Reds are winning World War III right now.

It is, therefore, completely in the interests of the Reds to try to prevent any trend towards greater love of country and of American freedom, because such loyalties are an obstacle to Soviet aggression.

On Page 19 of the "Study Guide", we find an example of the ancient "Have you stopped beating your wife" question; in other words, one that comes out to your detriment no matter which way it is answered. Here it is:

"Some people say that Communism must be destroyed. Some people say that Capitalism must be destroyed. How could either be done without destroying much of the world in war?"

This question is asked against the "tinted" backdrop of the "background paper" entitled, "Can the Cold War Be Ended?" This paper holds, in essence, that we have no choice; that the answer is either co-existence or no-existence; and that we had best resign ourselves to the inevitable conclusion that totalitarianism is here to stay.

We can only hope that the intended victims will be smart enough to realize that we are not faced with a choice of equally unacceptable "solutions", both of which would plunge us into war; but that the only real solution is *freedom for the enslaved peoples.*

On the same page of the "Study Manual" is an example of a loaded combination of questions. We are asked, "Is all of Communism bad? Is all of Capitalism good?" Of course the first question prompts favorable remarks concerning Soviet totalitarianism, while the second question incites unfavorable comments concerning the United States.

Or, we find that a whole series of questions manage to direct our attention *away* from any criticism of the Soviet Union, and to concentrate all criticism against the United States.

For example, one would assume that in the "Report of Section IV", which has to do with "The Changing Dimensions of Human Rights", that a fair comparison would be made of human rights under the free Republic of the United States and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Alas! We find nothing of the sort!

Rather, we are sternly admonished that any criticism of "another nation or group" is unjustified; that to do so we would most certainly be harboring dangerous "political propaganda reasons"; and besides, "Christians are reminded of the Biblical injunction to take the obstruction out of our own eye if we are to help in clearing the sight of others."

Hence it is not surprising to find in the 22 questions posed concerning "human rights", not one single mention of Communism. There is nothing about Soviet slave labor camps; nothing about the destruction of free speech, of assembly, of the churches; nothing about the murder of Christian martyrs behind the iron curtain; nothing about the dread MVD, the Soviet Secret Police; nothing about the brazen Soviet kidnapping of refugees in the United States; nothing about Anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union; nothing about the destruction of the rights of labor and workers . . . not even mention

of the iron curtain itself. If the hoped-for victim in the Discussion Groups wakes up in time, he will find that he is not even talking about "peace" any more!

What is he talking about? By clever transition, the questions slowly change the entire direction of thinking. We find out, without realizing it, what was meant by the "whole field" of human rights. From the original statement of simple human rights, the questions take us to "Do you believe that the community has a responsibility to see that every child has a right to an education?" What responsibility does the *world community* have . . . ? The right to remunerative work? The right to a minimum standard of living? Have the rights of the American Indian been considered? Should everybody have the right to vote? The right to equal opportunities? Housing? Hospital care? Recreation?

The final question of the 22 posed in the Study Guide reads: "What obligations, if any, do Christians have in being concerned about these questions in the changing dimensions of human rights?" By this time it is quite likely that the victim has completely forgotten that the question has anything to do with Communism . . . his entire attention has been scientifically directed, by means of very clever propaganda techniques, towards thinking what a perfectly awful place we live in — a discredited, maligned United States which is in such a deplorable state that we had best direct our prayers to God to forgive us our many sins against humanity. But this is not yet the end. We have still to be delivered the *coup de grace*. Directly following the list of questions, and to nail down any loose ends the brainwashing may have left over, the National Council of Churches provides a list of "Readings".

Here we find that the National Council of Churches recommends that we read "The Races of Mankind" by Prof. Gene Weltfish, published by "Public Affairs Pamphlets" in New York. What we are *not* told (remember — Christians must base their decisions on facts?) is that Maxwell S. Stewart, the editor of Public Affairs Pamphlets, has been identified as a member of the Communist Party, U.S.A., by a sworn witness before the Internal Security Subcommittee in 1951 and that Prof. Weltfish who was one of the outstanding Red front joiners in the U.S., was head of the infamous Communist front known as Congress of American Women and was fired from Columbia University after invoking the Fifth Amendment before a Senate Committee hearing.

Neither are we told, by the writers of the National Program booklets who insisted that Christians "know the facts", that Maxwell S. Stewart has been affiliated with the defunct publication *Amerasia*, of which 6 members of the editorial and contributing staff were arrested by the Federal Bureau of Investigation on June 6, 1945 on charges of conspiring to violate the Federal Espionage Statutes through theft of government documents ranging from *Restricted* to *Top Secret* in security classification.

We are not warned by the National Program authors that Stewart has been affiliated with *New Masses*, described as a "communist periodical" by the Attorney General of the United States in 1942 . . . or that he has been affiliated with over 40 subversive organizations during the past 22 years.

And so we have travelled the complete circle. From an initial discussion point, which was alleged to have been for the purpose of establishing "peace and friendship" we have been brought completely around, step by step, until we have been delivered safely into the hands of an identified communist.

It is therefore interesting to note that the World Order Study Conference has "stacked" its material very decidedly in favor of the communists, and to the detriment of the free world and particularly the United States.

In addition to the favorable words used in connection with the communists, balanced against the unfavorable words used in discussion of the United States, we also find that very harsh words are used to describe matters, peoples or movements other than communist, but that softer words are used in talking about the very same crime committed by the communists.

For example: In the book on "Changing Dimensions", the persecution of people in Poland and Germany is referred to as the "shocking massacre". There is nothing inaccurate about that statement. But, in the very same sentence, persecution of people in the Soviet Union is referred to as simply "suppression" . . . a much softer, less damning term.

On page 4 of the same manual, reference is made to "the persecution of Jews in Germany"; but there is *no* reference made to the much more insidious persecution of the Jews under communism, despite a terrific amount of available evidence. Can the National Council of Churches expect us to believe that it is entirely accidental that they should condemn the persecution of the Jewish people 20 years ago in Germany, but say *nothing* about the persecution of the Jewish people in the Soviet Union NOW?

Over and over again, we are fed such words as "Communist nations as nations have their own legitimate interests and their own reasonable fears"; "there is real hope that new generations within the communist countries will be less fanatical". Or, if there have been "fallings" on the part of the communists, it's *all our fault!*

Hence, we read that "*the intransigence and aggressive tactics of the communist powers are caused, in part, by fear of their own security*". Whose fault is it? Why, "*American nuclear stockpiles . . . arouse apprehension*"! There is no mention, of course, as to WHY we have found it necessary to build a nuclear stockpile.

Or, we read, "*There is in Communism an element of judgment upon the churches and upon the more privileged societies*". And, since communism is all our fault anyway, "*We should avoid the posture of general hostility to them and cease the practice of continual moral lectures to them by our leaders*".

The writers of the National Program manuals cannot get around the fact that we seem to be in a "nuclear stalemate" . . . that the cold war continues. There are, they declare, "five reasons . . . for these failures". And the five reasons? You guessed it. All five "reasons" are blamed on the United States. Not a word to indicate that the Soviet Union is to be held responsible for declaring and waging total war on the free world.

There are many references to "communist dreams", Russian aims, communist goals . . . but not a word about the American dream, American aims, intentions, hopes and aspirations. Whatever happened to the American dream? But, of Communist China? A "crusade" of such magnificent proportions, that it is completely unreasonable for us to expect the reds to abandon their noble purposes. Specifically, the sentence reads, "*It may now be too late for Communist China to give up her crusade to liberate and reclaim Formosa . . .*".

Crusade? Liberate? Reclaim? Those who, during and before World War II, supported Hitler's movement as a "Crusade" to "liberate" and "reclaim" certain

territories and nationalities for Germany were called Fascists. Yet, *D. F. Fleming*, who wrote the above gem, insists upon putting on an air of injured innocence and indignation if anyone reaches a logical conclusion as to which brand of totalitarianism he supports.

As an American citizen, Fleming, of course, has the right to espouse any philosophy he wishes. But it would seem that our Protestant Churches, since they had the right to oppose the views of Gerald L. K. Smith, should have the equal right to oppose, just as strenuously, the views of *D. F. Fleming*.

RED TRICKS OF THE PROPAGANDA TRADE

I have, in my file of Communist propaganda leaflets, one clever little mailing piece used several years ago which did a fabulous money-raising job for the Reds. It successfully confused a large number of innocent victims. Since non-Communists, they nevertheless were tricked into contributing to a Communist front organization.

The trick was accomplished simply by asking questions!

The trap was set by inserting a false statement *within* the question; and, since the good-natured person is intent upon finding the *answer* to the question, his mind tends to ignore the precise content of the question itself. And, since the question is "loaded" in favor of his enemy, his answer is likely to strengthen the side of the enemy, and weaken the side of the victim.

The National Council of Churches, in its NPOE & AFP booklets, pulls this propaganda trick constantly. Seemingly innocent questions are, in fact, loaded favorably for the Soviet Union and unfavorably for the United States and the free world. Sometimes it is done within the question itself; sometimes the question is prefaced by slanted or distorted information, thus "setting up" a tinted background designed to color the victim's reply; and sometimes it is done with a combination of questions.

For example, on Page 24 of the "Study Guide" we find a question which was loaded from within: We are asked,

"What does the rise of nationalism mean in Africa, Asia, and Latin America? In what ways does it compare with the rise of nationalism in our own country's history?"

Unless the victim is careful, he may be tricked by this apparently innocent question . . . because a Communist false twist of fact has been inserted!

The key, of course, is the accusation of "Nationalism" hurled at the United States. This is a continuing accusation made against us by the Reds, not only as part of their propaganda of hatred, but also as a very definite part of the war to weaken our resistance to Soviet oppression.

This Red propaganda line holds that the people of the United States are guilty of Nationalism, Chauvinism, Imperialism and super-Patriotism, thus endangering the peace and tranquility of the world.

Much closer to the truth, of course, is that the people of this country are among the least "nationalistic" of any nation in the world. Still a new country, we are aware that this land has been a "melting pot" for many peoples, nationalities and cultures. Indeed, we lack patriotism to a fault. Many competent observers, too numerous to list here, have cited our deplorable lack of knowledge concerning our own nation and heritage; of the meaning of freedom; of a true appreciation of our constitution and the liberties it protects. Indeed, rather than suffering from "nationalism", we are more likely to suffer from apathy, indiffer-

mony on "Communist Control of the Arts" has been praised for its outstanding lucidity; or others.

Recently, Stewart Alsop, writing in the January 30, 1960 Saturday Evening Post, described his findings based on a 3000-mile trip behind the iron curtain, digging deep beneath the surface of communism. The article is entitled "I Saw What Makes Communism Work". The answer? It is "fear, which is everywhere, for it is what makes Communism Work." . . . and Mr. Alsop backs up his findings with example after example.

The "Nationwide Program" material is permeated with an atmosphere of fear and terror . . . there are few pages without it. Over and over again we are fed such phrases as: "history so dangerously today . . . the whole range of terrors . . . evil intrudes itself on men in new magnitudes of urgency and terror . . . all the promises tremble now over one peril . . . the capacity for destruction possible in war today exceeds the most ominous forebodings of yesterday . . . mutual destruction . . . great cities would lie in ruins . . . whole populations would be annihilated . . . a radioactive plague would settle on the earth . . . we find ourselves always on the brink of annihilation . . . devastation and destruction . . ." and so on, ad infinitum.

In addition to the atmosphere of fear and terror, the "Nationwide Program" material also contains an atmosphere of hopelessness; the idea that there is nothing at all that we can do about it . . . and that certainly we cannot expect or hope that "old fashioned" ideas of right and wrong will be of any value or effect.

The very best we can hope for, then, is to "end" the cold war . . . but never, of course to WIN the cold war. That the free world should ever defeat, conquer, overcome, or win the struggle against communist aggression . . . such an idea is, to the National Council experts, absolutely unthinkable.

Hence we learn the following: that "The power to win a war has lost its significance . . . the policy of deterrence (poses) the threat . . . of mutual suicide . . . we must face new realities . . . we must accept the fact that in Russia and China, Communism is a reality that will not be overcome by outside pressure. Deterrence? "A real danger". Limited wars? "A danger of utmost gravity". Moral judgment (often mentioned by President Eisenhower)? "We should abandon the black and white moralistic approach". The threat of massive retaliation? "Does not make sense". Containment? "Our adventures in containment could be our own isolation in an embittered Fortress America".

The end conclusion? We had just better resign ourselves to accepting the inevitable. We can't possibly win the struggle against communist tyranny. We are told emphatically, "The overriding consideration in coming to accept the necessity of living with the communist nations is that there is no alternative except one that would be likely to destroy both the communist world and our own".

And that is that. But—of course—"it is not our purpose to indoctrinate churches and their members with particularized views or dogmas!"—so emphatically states the National Councilites!

BUT . . .

Those who criticize this article . . . and I am sure they will be noisy and bitter . . . will be able to quote a great number of statements from the National Program manuals which are decidedly unfavorable to communism;

BUT when you examine these statements carefully, you will find virtually every time this is done, that within the same sentence or within a few sentences, there is a "but", a "yet", a "however", "still", or some other qualifying preposition followed by a white-wash excuse of the communist crime or misdeed.

There is, of course, a reason for this. For a long time the Communists were quite successful in hiding their crimes against the enslaved peoples from the outside world. The iron curtain was very successful. But as time went on (42 years of time, to be exact) the truth began to leak out. The stench of communism became embarrassingly apparent. No longer are the fellow-travelers able to quote the Red Dean of Canterbury, as they once did, that "Stalin is no oriental despot".

It was necessary for Khrushchev to deliver his "downgrading" "secret" speech, manufactured for dispatch to the outside world, as an attempt to separate the crimes of communism from the perpetrators of communist crimes.

Hence, it is no longer possible to conceal completely the evils of communism. Hence the tactic is to "deodorize" them by excuses—any excuse, no matter how far fetched . . . so long as you can get gullible people to swallow them.

Hence, in the National Program indoctrination manuals, what do we find? Let's take a look at only a few of the many examples.

"If the non-communist world were to shrink beyond a certain point, no nation would be likely to maintain its freedom. **BUT —"**

"It is true that there are important interactions between communist military power and other forms of communist power. **BUT—"**

"There are forms of oppression, of the denial of the basic rights of the person of which we should not be tolerant. **BUT—"**

"We must oppose communism as an evil system which denies God and defiles man, **BUT—"**

"The Communist goal of world domination must be squarely faced and constantly kept in mind. **YET IT DOES NOT FOLLOW—"**

"It is idle to expect that at any time in the foreseeable future the communists will formally renounce their dream of world revolution. **BUT IF—"**

"It is true that they are atheists in principle **BUT—"**

"Aggressive totalitarianism or communist imperialism should be resisted. **BUT—"**

By the time the reader completes the 15 textbooks in the series, he has been given an apology for most of the crimes committed by the communists. Of course, many serious crimes committed against the enslaved peoples are not mentioned at all.

STACKING THE CARDS

A device sometimes used by the less ethical in gambling circles is known as "stacking the deck" or "stacking the cards". The deck is "loaded" in your favor and puts your opponent in a most unfortunate position. Of course, in gambling circles this is considered to be cheating. But, in propaganda warfare waged against the free world by the communist criminal conspiracy, "stacking" the propaganda deck is one of the standard practices.

News and Views

Eternal Vigilance is Forever the Price of Freedom

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WORLD ORDER STUDY CONFERENCE- MOSCOW'S MOUTHPIECE

by HERBERT A. PHILBRICK

PART TWO

The following issue of News & Views is a continuation of the article by Counter-Spy Herbert A. Philbrick which began in the February 1960 Special Edition of NEWS & VIEWS. Mr. Philbrick began his expose of the so-called "Nation-wide Program of Education and Action for Peace" being promoted by the National Council of Churches in cooperation with various state and local councils of churches, and augmented by other groups discussed in these two editions.

In this issue Mr. Philbrick goes into the so-called "study material", largely written by leftist John C. Bennett, and he exposes the brain-washing techniques used on the unsuspecting students.

The "Nationwide Program of Education and Action For Peace" (NPOE & AFP) was developed by the World Order Study Conference, which was sponsored by the Department of International Affairs, which is part of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. The fifteen basic manuals being used were prepared, we are told, "to stimulate questions, study and discussion on crucial international issues." The manuals are sold by the Department of Publication and Distribution, 120 East 23rd Street, New York 10, New York.

However, everybody denies responsibility for the manuals. Each booklet contains a carefully written disclaimer, contending that "no commission member is to be held responsible for or necessarily is in accord with the views expressed in it. It is not to be considered an official representation of the views of the Department of International Affairs or of the National Council of Churches."

On the other hand, while seeking to avoid responsibility for the "views", the Council seeks to retain tight control over them. They state, "It (the manual) is not to be quoted in publications in whole or in part without permission of the Department of International Affairs." If any one pays attention to this nonsense, it means that the only quotes from the manuals will be quoted with specific authorization. How they can authorize the quotation of views they are not responsible for — or vice versa — is, of course, beyond understanding.

Thus, in the very beginning, we are plunged into a never-never-land of contradictory confusion. The booklets never quite emerge from this atmosphere of schizophrenic unreality.

This is, of course, a sharp departure from the traditional Protestant ethic which holds that although all things belong to God and are given by God — including our freedom of speech — at the same time we have a responsibility to God. This is commonly called Christian Stewardship,

which means that we are personally held accountable for every word, as well as every deed. Most Protestant Churches are still teaching that to fail or shirk such responsibility is at least delinquent, and at worst, sinful.

As a nation, we have been shocked to discover such delinquency in the field of entertainment, in motion pictures and in television. On every hand we are admonished that this is because of a moral and spiritual decline, and because our culture has been infected with materialism and Marxism.

The philosophy of irresponsibility is, in fact, part of the philosophy of Communism, which seeks to center all authority in a centralized dictatorship, with equivalent loss of individual responsibility by every citizen, and the substitution of "responsibility to the group" or the commune.

However, this is not the only segment of the Nationwide Program of Education and Action For Peace which adheres more to the Communist than to the Christian point of view. As pointed out in Part I of this article, published by News and Views last month, the National Council booklets are so permeated with pro-Soviet propaganda that many volumes would be required to expose or uncover even a part of it. Indeed, I submit that the NPOE & AFP booklets may well become a classic for the study of the various kinds and styles of propaganda techniques. Let us examine a few samples.

FEAR AS A PROPAGANDA WEAPON

The use of fear as a weapon in communist aggression has been well documented by many writers besides the author of this article. As we have already pointed out, however, the National Council at no time refers to any of the texts or the authorities in this field . . . such as, for example, Joost Meerloo, who wrote the excellent book, "Rape of The Mind"; Nikolai Khokhlov, whose testi-

A GREAT STATESMAN'S VIEW

Edmund Burke, the great English statesman and author, in describing the relations that should exist between the state and church, said:

"Politics and the pulpit have little agreement. No sound ought to be heard in the church but the healing voice of Christian charity. The cause of civil liberty and civil government gains as little as that of religion by this confusion of duties. Those who quit their proper character to assume what does not belong to them are, for the greater part, ignorant both of the character they leave and of the character they assume. Wholly unacquainted with the world, in which they are so fond of meddling, and inexperienced in all its affairs, on which they pronounce with so much confidence, they have nothing of politics but the passions they excite. Surely the church is a place where one day's truce ought to be allowed to the dissensions and animosities of mankind."

—from REFLECTIONS ON THE REVOLUTION IN FRANCE

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The purpose of this Bulletin and all of our other editions is to inform the American people concerning those subversive forces which are methodically penetrating every major phase of our society. Once the American people are informed, they will do something to stop this infiltration. You can help inform them.

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 Hysop, Dr. Ralph D., (United Church of Christ), New York, N. Y.
 Jackson, Mrs. Abbie C., (African Methodist Episcopal Zion), Louisville, Ky.
 Jaquet, Mr. Constant H., Jr., (Protestant Episcopal), New York, N. Y.
 Jensen, Mr. Herfur H., (American Evangelical Lutheran), New York, N. Y.
 Jones, Mr. Francis, (Methodist), New York, N. Y.
 Jones, Miss Irene A., (American Baptist), New York, N. Y.
 Kurian, Rev. Andrew, Chicago, Illinois
 Letts, Dr. Harold C., (United Lutheran Church in America), New York, N. Y.
 Merwin, Rev. Wallace C., (Presbyterian U.S.A.), New York, N. Y.
 Miller, Dr. J. Quinter, (Brethren), New York, N. Y.
 Nitz, Dr. Paul H., (Protestant Episcopal), Washington, D. C.
 Noble, Rev. Hubert C., New York, N. Y.
 Olsen, Mr. C. Arild, (American Evangelical Lutheran), New York, N. Y.
 Price, Dr. Frank W., (Presbyterian U.S.A.), New York, N. Y.
 Rex, Dr. Frederick J., (Lutheran), New York, N. Y.
 Robinson, Dr. James, New York, N. Y.
 Ross, Dr. Roy G., New York, N. Y.
 Rynoch, Dr. W. Stanley, (Presbyterian U.S.A.), New York, N. Y.
 Scott, Dr. Roland W., (Methodist), New York, N. Y.
 Sly, Rev. Virgil A., (Disciples of Christ), Indianapolis, Ind.
 Stevenson, Dr. Russell, (Presbyterian U.S.A.), New York, N. Y.
 Tucker, Dr. Theodore L., New York, N. Y.
 West, Dr. Donald F., (Disciples of Christ), Indianapolis, Ind.
 Wilkins, Rev. John R., (Methodist), New York, N. Y.
 Wilson, Rev. Jesse R., (American Baptist), New York, N. Y.
 Wilson, R. Morris, (United Church of Christ), Chatham, N. J.
 Wine, Mr. James W., Parkville, Mo.
 Wood, Rev. John S., New York, N. Y.
 Yoder, Rev. Howard W., (Methodist), New York, N. Y.

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 Barnes, Miss Betsey, (Disciples of Christ), Nashville, Tenn.
 Buckle, Mr. Robert, Ithaca, N. Y.
 Bush, Mr. Walker (Methodist), Los Angeles, Calif.
 Clark, Miss Carmeta, (United Church of Christ), Columbus, Ohio
 Cooley, Mr. John H., (Presbyterian U.S.A.), Davidson, N. C.
 Davies, Mr. Joe, (Disciples of Christ), Baltimore, Md.
 Diller, Mr. Karl, (Presbyterian U.S.A.), Maryville, Tenn.
 Langton, Mr. Stuart, New York, N. Y.
 Nielsen, Mr. Helmar, (American Baptist), Lewisburg, Pa.
 Patton, Mr. H. Milton, Jr., (Disciples of Christ), Bethany, W. Va.
 Tannehill, Mr. John, (Methodist), Swarthmore, Pa.
 Whitney, Miss Janet, (Methodist), Manchester, Conn.
 Willis, Dot, (Associate Reformed Presbyterian), New York, N. Y.
 Young, Rev. Andrew J., (United Church of Christ), New York, N. Y.

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N.C.C.C. Note some are officers.

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 Barbours, Mrs. George, (Presbyterian U.S.A.), Cincinnati, Ohio
 Brooks, Mrs. W. W., (Presbyterian U.S.A.), Minneapolis, Minn.
 Dolbey, Mrs. Dorothy N., Cincinnati, Ohio
 Donaldson, Mrs. B. R., (Methodist), Dearborn, Mich.
 Eddy, Mrs. Sherwood, Jacksonville, Ill.
 Eppes, Mrs. James Van Deusen, (Protestant Episcopal), Bethlehem, Pa.
 Good, Mrs. Merton, (Methodist), Indianapolis, Ind.
 Hymer, Mrs. Esther W., (Presbyterian U.S.A.), New York, N. Y.
 Kaur, Rajkumari Amrita, (Anglican), New Delhi, India
 Kad Khin Khin, (Anglican), Rangoon, Burma
 Dowand, Mrs. H. H., Pacific Palisades, Calif.

Kuhn, Miss Margaret E., (Presbyterian U.S.A.), Philadelphia, Pa.
 MacLeod, Mrs. W., Murdoch, (Presbyterian U.S.A.), New York, N. Y.
 Patterson, Mrs. Fred W., (Southern Baptist), Atlanta, Ga.
 Putnam, Mrs. Russell, (Disciples of Christ), Cleveland, Ohio
 Robinson, Mrs. Adrian, (Congregational), Hinsdale, Ill.
 Spear, Mrs. Clarence A., (Methodist), St. Joseph, Mo.
 Street, Mrs. Wallace N., (Methodist), Washington, D. C.
 Terrell, Mrs. William (American Baptist Convention), W. Hartford, Conn.
 Woodsall, Miss Ruth F., New York, N. Y.
 Wycker, Rev. Mrs. James D., (Disciples of Christ), Mount Vernon, Ohio

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 Barnett, Mr. Eugene E., Arlington, Va.
 Bonds, Dr. A. B., Jr., Berea, Ohio
 Carter, Mrs. Lisle, (Protestant Episcopal), New York, N. Y.
 Clarke, Mr. Robert W., (United Church of Christ), Cleveland, Ohio
 Herrick, Mr. M. C., Cleveland Ohio
 Lansdale, Mr. Herbert P., Jr., (Presbyterian), New York, N. Y.
 Leavenworth, Mr. Ralph W., (Congregational-Christian), Cleveland, Ohio
 Nuven, Mr. John, (Baptist), Chicago, Ill.
 Panas, Mr. Jerry M., (Episcopal), Alliance, Ohio
 Rasmussen, Mr. F. V., Cleveland, Ohio
 Sproul, Mr. J. Edward, (American Baptist Convention), New York, N. Y.
 Walter, Mr. Paul W., Cleveland, Ohio

Y.W.C.A.—Consultants Without Vote

Archberger, Mrs. C. E., (Methodist), Cleveland, Ohio
 Ely, Miss Rebecca, (Protestant Episcopal), Cleveland, Ohio
 Hanford, Miss Vivian, (Presbyterian U.S.A.), Detroit, Mich.
 Hier, Miss Ruth, (Methodist), Shaker Heights, Ohio
 Mains, Miss Frances H., (Presbyterian), New York, N. Y.
 Mudge, Mrs. Alfred E., Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Sutler, Mrs. Martin, Cleveland, Ohio
 White, Miss Doris, (Presbyterian), Cleveland, Ohio

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 Ann Arbor-Washtenaw (Mich.) Council of Churches
 Pries, Rev. Richard L., (Lutheran), Ann Arbor, Mich.
 Greater Bridgeport Council of Churches
 Egan, Rev. C. Edward, Jr., (Methodist), Easton, Conn.
 Buffalo and Erie (N.Y.) Council of Churches
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 Gilson, Rev. Frederick L., (American Baptist), Buffalo, N. Y.
 Henry, Mr. Gerald B., (Presbyterian U.S.A.), Buffalo, N. Y.
 Zearlos, Rev. Robert N., (American Baptist Convention), Buffalo, N. Y.

Cleveland Area Church Federation

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 Brown, Dr. Howard, (Methodist), Cleveland, Ohio
 Dewald, Mrs. Ernest L., Cleveland, Ohio
 Drew, Dr. George, Lakewood, Ohio
 Stickford, Prof. Wray W., (Methodist), Berea, Ohio
 Columbus Area Council of Churches
 Burkhardt, Dr. Roy, (Community Church—not in denomination affiliated with N.C.C.C.), Columbus, Ohio

Greater Dallas Council of Churches

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 Dayton (Ohio) Council of Churches
 Barr, Rev. William D., (Presbyterian U.S.A.), Dayton, Ohio
 Hill, Rev. Roy, (Community Church—not in denomination affiliated with N.C.C.C.), Dayton, Ohio

Denver (Colo.) Council of Churches

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 Dunkle, Mrs. Edward V., (Protestant Episcopal), Denver, Colo.
 Hollis, Mr. Harvey W., (American Baptist), Denver, Colo.

Detroit Council of Churches

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 Pelham, Rev. Joseph A., (Episcopal), Detroit, Mich.
 Roberts, Rev. Joseph L., (African Methodist Episcopal), Detroit, Mich.
 Sparrow, Mrs. Nan, (Episcopal), Ann Arbor, Mich.

Evanston Council of Churches

Main, Rev. John J., (Methodist), Evanston, Ill.

Evansville (Ind.) Council of Churches

Miller, Rev. Raphael H., Jr., (Disciples of Christ), Evansville, Ind.

Stallworth, Rev. James, Cleveland, Ohio
Wesdes, Rev. J. T., Cleveland, Ohio
Winbush, Rev. John C., Cleveland, Ohio

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Cadigan, Mr. Robert, Philadelphia, Pa.
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Wilmore, Rev. Gayraud S., Jr., Philadelphia, Pa.
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Hubben, Mr. William, Philadelphia, Pa.
Pickett, Dr. Clarence E., Haverford, Pa.
Rhoads, Mrs. Richard H., Wilmington, Del.
Wilson, Raymond E., Washington, D. C.
Wood, Mr. Richard R., Riverton, N. J.

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Golawski, The Very Rev. Dr. Bernard, Cleveland, Ohio
Rysz, Rev. Anthony M., Dupont, Pa.

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Craine, The Rt. Rev. John P., Indianapolis, Ind.
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Guice, Miss Katherine L., New York, N. Y.
Guice, Mr. Charles M., Cincinnati, Ohio
Sayre, Mrs. Francis B., Washington, D. C.
Seitz, Rev. Oscar, Bambier, Ohio
Steer, Mr. Paul W., Cincinnati, Ohio
Sweetser, Rev. Caroleton J., New York, N. Y.
Weston, Rev. M. Moran, New York, N. Y.

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Englund, Dr. Harold, Midland, Mich.
Fried, Dr. Paul C., Holland, Mich.
Harper, Mrs. Kenneth R., Highland Park, N. J.
Kooy, Dr. Vernon H., New Brunswick, N. J.

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Hategan, Rev. Fr. Vassile, Cleveland, O.
Postelnic, Rev. Fr. Martin, Warren, O.
Sibisan, Mr. John J., Cleveland, O.
Trifa, Bishop Valerian, Jackson, Mich.

RUSSIAN ORTHODOX

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Chepeleff, Mr. Ross, Detroit, Mich.

Czap, Ivan M., Esquire, Philadelphia, Pa.
Dzima, The Very Rev. Basil, Loraine, Ohio
John, The Rt. Rev. Bishop of San Francisco, New York, N. Y.
Lilikovich, The Rt. Rev. Vladimir, Detroit, Mich.
Lucak, Michael, Esquire, Cleveland, Ohio
Malenchok, Dr. Joseph, Cleveland, Ohio
Miller, Rev. John, Lakewood, Ohio
Palapovsky, The Very Rev. Vladimir, Cleveland, Ohio
Resettar, Mr. John, Cleveland, Ohio
Rodzelsky, Rev. Nicholas, Akron, Ohio
Solak, Rev. Nicholas, Warren, Ohio
Udies, Brother George, Cleveland, Ohio

SYRIAN ANTIOCHIAN

Skaff, Rev. Thomas, Cleveland, Ohio

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Marcus, Rev. Chester L., Cleveland, Ohio
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Elston, Mr. Gerhard, Philadelphia, Pa.
Erh, Rev. Earl S., New York, N. Y.
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Forrell, Rev. George W., Maywood, Ill.
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Simmons, Rev. John G., North Hollywood, Calif.
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Barnes, Dr. Roswell P., (Presbyterian U.S.A.), New York, N. Y.
Bennett, Dr. John C., (United Church of Christ), New York, N. Y.
Bentley, The Rt. Rev. John B., (Protestant Episcopal), New York, N. Y.
Billingsley, Mrs. Margaret, (Methodist), New York, N. Y.
Booley, Rev. Harold A., (Methodist), Evanston, Ill.
Boynton, Rev. Edward C., (United Church of Christ), Essex, Conn.
Brandenburg, D. E. Craig, (Evangelical United Brethren), Dayton, Ohio
Brumbaugh, Rev. T. T., (Methodist), New York, N. Y.
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 Tower, Rev. R. W., Madison, Wis.
 Weems, Rev. Thompson, Cleveland, Ohio

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 Johnson, Dr. Mordecai, Washington, D. C.
 Jones, Rev. E. Theodore, Richmond, Va.

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 Mortensen, Rev. Enok, Tyler, Minn.
 Rasmussen, Mr. Gerald, Des Moines, Iowa
 Thuesen, Rev. Theodore Jr., Newark, N. J.
 Mortensen, Mrs. Enok, Tyler, Minn.

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 Reuss, Dr. Carl E., Columbus, Ohio
 Zietlow, Rev. Harold, Gilman, Ill.

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 Gulbenkian, Mr. V. Richard, Cleveland, Ohio
 Kasparian, Rev. Aranak, Highland Park, Mich.
 Megerhian, Rev. Vartan, Bayside, N. Y.
 Norchard, Mr. Bedros, New York, N. Y.

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 Fitten, Rev. Emmaus, Cleveland, Ohio
 Grege, Rev. S. S., St. Louis, Mo.
 Johnson, Helen Louise, Jackson, Tenn.
 Smith, Bishop B. Julian, Chicago, Ill.

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 Row, Dr. W. Harold, Elgin, Ill.
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 Fangeimer, Mr. Robert A., Indianapolis, Ind.
 Hunter, Congressman Edith, Washington, D. C.
 Hunter, Dr. Barton, Indianapolis, Ind.
 Hunter, Mr. Joseph, Little Rock, Ark.
 Imman, Mr. John R., New York, N. Y.
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 Newman, Mr. William C., Mansfield, Ohio
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 Stiles, Dr. Walter W., Indianapolis, Ind.
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 Smith, Rev. Marvin E., St. Louis, Mo.
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 Walsley, Rev. Arthur E., New York, N. Y.

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 Levering, Mr. Samuel R., Ararat, Va.
 Mills, Sumner A., Indianapolis, Ind.
 Newlin, Mr. Algie L., Greensboro, N. C.
 Reece, Glenn A., Richmond, Va.
 Rees, Russell E., Richmond, Ind.

EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN
 Jordahl, Dr. V. T., Mason City, Iowa
 Rogness, Dr. A. N., St. Paul, Minn.
 Schlotz, Dr. Fredrik A., Minneapolis, Minn.

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 Krecker, Dr. J. W., Harrisburg, Pa.
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 Messmer, Dr. William K., Dayton, Ohio
 Milhouse, Rev. Paul, Harrisburg, Pa.
 Sholly, Rev. A. H., Elkhardt, Ind.
 Stine, Dr. Cawley H., Dayton, Ohio
 Wolf, Dr. Wilmer H., Naperville, Ill.

GREEK ORTHODOX
 Geranics, The Rev. Fr. John G., Cleveland, Ohio
 Geranios, The Rev. Fr., Cleveland, Ohio
 Grogan, Mr. George, Cleveland, Ohio
 Lambros, Mr. Arthur P., Cleveland, Ohio
 Manes, Mr. John M., Cleveland, Ohio
 Misiailides, Dr. George P., Oberlin, Ohio
 Papandreas, Mr. John P., Cleveland, Ohio
 Papouras, Mr. Harry, Cleveland, Ohio
 Zapis, Mr. Xenophon, Cleveland, Ohio

METHODIST
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 Bennett, Mr. Royal, Humboldt, Iowa
 Bollinger, Dr. H. D., Nashville, Tenn.
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 Chittum, Dr. John W., Wooster, Ohio
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 Cole, Dr. T. W., Marshall, Texas
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 Cook, Dr. Alva L., Akron, Ohio
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 Deaton, Miss Marian L., New York, N. Y.
 Dillon, Mrs. Roy A., Oklahoma City, Okla.
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 Geier, Mr. Woodrow, Nashville, Tenn.
 Gosard, Mr. Edgar, Nashville, Tenn.
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 Groves, Dr. John O., Nashville, Tenn.
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 James, Dr. Trigg, Johnson City, Tenn.
 Jones, Mr. Jameson, Nashville, Tenn.
 Jones, Mr. Ed., Mason City, Minn.
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 Shimer, Mr. Eliot R., Cleveland, Ohio
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 Stanley, Mr. C. M., Muscatine, Iowa
 Stevens, Miss Thelma, New York, N. Y.
 Stewart, Rev. Mrs. Annalee, Washington, D. C.
 Stine, Dr. Leo C., Kalamazoo, Michigan
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 Stoker, Mr. Doyle, New Philadelphia, Ohio
 Stowe, Dr. McFevrin, Oklahoma City, Okla.
 Swomley, Rev. John M., Nyack, N. Y.
 Taylor, Rev. Daniel E., Chicago, Ill.
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 Ward, Dr. A. D., Duell, Chicago, Ill.
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 Williams, Mr. Wayne D., Denver, Colo.
 Willoughby, Rev. Robert E., Big Rapids, Mich.
 Wilson, Mrs. Ralph T., Laurens, S. C.
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 Young, Mrs. Barbara, Madison, Wis.
 Ziegler, Mr. C. G., Jr., Philadelphia, Pa.

MORAVIAN CHURCH IN AMERICA
 Wallace, Mr. G. L., Madison, Wis.

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 Brach, Rev. J. R., Pittsburg, Pa.
 Burrell, Rev. C. A., Pittsburg, Pa.
 Cole, Rev. S. L., Cleveland, Ohio
 Colvin, Rev. Benjamin F., Cleveland, Ohio
 Craig, Rev. L. W., Detroit, Mich.
 Dixie, Rev. J. Jr., Ft. Wayne, Ind.
 Dotson, Rev. J. A., Toledo, Ohio
 Fuller, Rev. R. L., Cleveland, Ohio
 Hale, Rev. Phile B., Toledo, Ohio
 Haney, Rev. William K., Detroit, Mich.
 Harvey, Rev. William J., Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Hicks, Rev. H. Beecher, Columbus, Ohio
 Hoover, Rev. O. M., Cleveland, Ohio
 Horne, Rev. H. P., Cleveland, Ohio
 Jarmann, Rev. A., Cleveland, Ohio
 Kirkland, Rev. J. E., Jr., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Mason, Rev. E. C., Toledo, Ohio
 Nelson, Rev. O. O., Columbus, Ohio
 Nelson, Rev. Booker T., Cleveland, Ohio
 Page, Rev. W. A., Cincinnati, Ohio
 Parrish, Rev. James W., Columbus, Ohio
 Payden, Rev. Henry J., Cleveland, Ohio
 Phillips, Rev. Porter W., Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Ross, Rev. S. D., Detroit, Mich.
 Rundless, Rev. E. A., Detroit, Mich.
 Sharpe, Rev. J. H., Cincinnati, Ohio

ent at the Cleveland meeting, and approved what went on, but were actually participating delegates!

When the General Board of the National Council met in Hartford, Connecticut sometime later, it found itself in the untenable position of either approving the report or repudiating its own membership. It squeezed out of that tight spot by voting to "receive the report" which it promptly handed back to the same department of the Council which wrote it, namely, Mr. Gross' section!

President Dahlberg and associates then launched into pious declamations as to how right and dutiful it was for the Cleveland World Order Study Conference to make such pronouncements in the first place. Those who have been studying the peculiar makeup of the ecumenical leaders of the National Council of Churches easily recognized the same old clichés about "the gospel being made applicable to all areas of life", which includes everything from telling Caesar how to run his government to farm co-ops. This gives them their "out" for entering into the political arena while still claiming tax exemption from the Federal Government.

Anyone who has the slightest knowledge of the New Testament accounts of the message and mission of the Christian Churches knows that the National Council of Churches' edicts are as far afield from true Christianity as the secular is from the sacred.

Although the National Council leaders, gathered at Cleveland last November, gave word out to the press, radio and television correspondents that the recommendation to seat Red China in the UN and have her recognized by the United States was by "unanimous" vote of the delegates, this proved to be false. No dissenting vote was registered because "it was considered to be less than 25 percent!" Church members have written to leaders of their denominations, who were listed as delegates, and have asked them point-blank if they voted for recognition of Red China and the seating of her in the UN. They have received letters in reply saying that they did not vote for any such thing, and that, furthermore, they were not even present in the assembly when the vote was taken! The Church League has such letters on file sent to it by correspondents.

Perhaps, though, there are other who would like to write to the people who represented their respective denominations at this National Council conclave and ask them how they voted. Therefore, NEWS AND VIEWS herewith lists the names of those registered as delegates with the denominations they represented alphabetically arranged.

The Church League of America would be interested in any replies readers of NEWS AND VIEWS receive from the delegates. It is suggested that they be asked just who authorized them to speak for the people in the pews!

Please notice in this list of delegates the great percentage of officials and employees of the National Council of Churches who would naturally vote for the Council's program. Here is a typical example of a minority group, claiming to express the sentiment of millions of people when, in fact, the "millions" have never been consulted or asked for their opinion, one way or another.

This is what is called "control technique by a minority group."

So confused were some of the delegates attending the Cleveland meeting that they didn't even know how to register properly. Some registered as members of the United Church of Christ, while others registered as Congregationalists and others as Evangelical and Reformed.

Actually, the United Church of Christ is supposed to be a merger of the Congregational-Christian plus the Evangelical and Reformed. The denominational heads of both

groups have announced that the merger is a fact and that it is now the United Church of Christ. Evidently some of the communicants of both of the denominations do not know this, or do not wish to recognize it.

Whenever the National Council has been accused of having leaders which deny the deity of Christ running its program, they make firm denials of such charges and cite that they have never received the Unitarians into membership because they deny Christ's deity. However, the Cleveland Conference had identified Unitarians attending as official delegates—so registered—and working in its study sections.

Local Councils of Churches, leaders and paid employees, have been very busy around the country denying that they have any affiliation with the National Council of Churches. This is especially true whenever members of local churches request that their respective churches withdraw from membership in Local Councils because the Local Councils are carrying out the National Council's program.

The Cleveland Conference shows that not only are the Local Councils of Churches one of the most powerful arms of the National Council, but it also proves that the Local Councils are actually voting parts of the National Council.

On page 240, Article IV, Paragraph 3, of the 1957 Triennial Report, (the latest) of the National Council of the National Council of Churches, the Constitution of the National Council states that the State, County, and City Councils of Churches shall have voting representatives in the General Assembly of the National Council.

We invite our readers to take a look at the long list of Local Councils of Churches representatives who attended the Cleveland Conference, which voted for recognition of Red China and its seating in the U.N. Then, when our readers hear Local Council officers and ministers of local churches trying to deny that the Local Councils are connected with the parent organization, the National Council, they can refute such statements with documented evidence.

Note, also, the list of those who were registered as delegates from denominations and groups not affiliated with the National Council of Churches.

Were these individuals included in the so-called "unanimous" vote propaganda which was given out to the press of the country on the question of Red China?

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION

Fuller, Rev. Albert L., Cleveland, Ohio
Gaston, Dr. A. G., Birmingham, Ala.
Hoggard, Rev. J. Clinton, Washington, D. C.
Kendall, Rev. George, Wadesboro, N. C.
Nichols, Bishop D. Ward, New York, N. Y.
Schulz, Rev. L. W., Montgomery, Ala.
Speaks, Rev. R. L., Durham, N. C.
Wright, Bishop R. R., Jr., Philadelphia, Pa.

AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION

Bonnell, Rev. Harold, Nashua, N. H.
Chessman, Dr. G. Wallace, Granville, Ohio
Corbett, Miss Miriam R., New York, N. Y.
Eggy, Dr. R. H. Edwin, New York, N. Y.
Guiffreda, Mr. Matthew, New York, N. Y.
Hodge, Mrs. M. B., Portland, Oregon
Hull, Rev. Angus C., Jr., Cleveland, Ohio
Keech, Rev. William, Philadelphia, Pa.
Ketcham, Rev. John B., New York, N. Y.
Kneece, Rev. Odys W., Trenton, N. J.
Lawson, Rev. Chris E., Providence, R. I.
Martin, Mrs. George B., Summit, N. J.
Matthews, Rev. W. R., Detroit, Mich.
May, Dr. Benjamin E., Atlanta, Ga.
Million, Dr. Elmer C., New York, N. Y.
Moody, Rev. Howard R., New York, N. Y.
Moseley, Mrs. Lillara, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Owens, Rev. Bennett L., Columbus, Ohio

turned out to be Mr. Ernest Gross. Bunche had been identified as a former C.P. member by two former Communists, but Mr. Gross must have done an exceedingly able job because he managed to get his client cleared of all charges. The whole Bunche story is told in a 49 page report-study prepared by the Alliance, 200 East 66th Street, New York. (Price—one dollar)

On June 22, 1952 the House Committee on Un-American Activities summoned one Allan R. Rosenberg for questioning. Mr. Rosenberg had also worked for the N.L.R.B. between 1937 and 1941 when Mr. Witt was General Counsel. Mr. Rosenberg took the 5th on all questions involving Communist membership and Nathan Witt. Elizabeth Bentley had sworn that Rosenberg had been a member of the so-called Perlo group of government employees supplying stolen classified information for transmittal to the Soviets.

Asked who had been his superior in the N.L.R.B. Mr. Rosenberg replied:

"Well when I was in the Litigation division it was Mr. Ernest Gross."

Now all of these close and continuous associations with individuals who later were exposed as Soviet agents or secret Communists were, of course, entirely fortuitous and cast no reflections whatever on Mr. Gross of the National Council of Churches of Christ. There were probably other good Americans who also innocently worked with or for the above enumerated anti-American elements. *News and Views* draws no conclusions and makes no insinuations beyond saying that spotting secret Soviet agents and exposing secret Communists was obviously not one of Mr. Gross's claims to fame. Each reader, on the other hand, is free to draw his own conclusions and to make his own inferences—that too, is obviously beyond the control of this newsletter.

We now come to an incident in which Mr. Gross was a free and responsible agent entirely on his own without any implications of "guilt by association." Two months after Soviet tanks and Mongolian machine-gunners had crushed the Hungarian freedom uprising, the United Nations General Assembly voted into existence a "Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary." It will be recalled that the U.N. futilely and abjectly begged both Russia and Communist Hungary for permission to send some observers into that ravished and tortured country. The Communists, with characteristic contempt for "bourgeois cowards and fools", told the U.N. to go fly a kite and not bother them, as they stamped out the last remaining pockets of heroic freedom fighters.

The U.N. Special Committee made up of an Australian, a Ceylonese, a Dane, and delegates from Uruguay and Tunisia did an excellent job of investigating and reporting on the Hungarian massacre. A Dane, Povl Bang-Jensen, was appointed Deputy-Secretary of the group. In gathering evidence Bang-Jensen and other staff members of the U.N. Special Committee gave their word of honor that the identity of some of the witnesses and escapees from Communist terror would never be disclosed. This was necessary as Communists in the United Nations would naturally relay their names to the Hungarian Communist Secret Police for certain retaliation and probably death or deportation to Siberia.

The *National Review* for January 3, 1959, *The Tablet* in several issues, *U.S. News & World Report*, *USA*, and other publications have adequately and fairly treated the whole Bang-Jensen controversy. In briefest outline, Bang-Jensen, married to an American and having five American born children, was fired by Dag Hammarskjöld for refusing to violate his word of honor and turn over the witness list to

other U.N. officials whom he obviously had good reason to mistrust: He was escorted from his office by U.N. guards and not even permitted to take his own files and records.

The customary Communist whispering campaign was started that Bang-Jensen was a bit queer in the head. Obviously, to a Communist and Communistically minded U.N. stooges, anyone who insists on bourgeois standards of honor and integrity must be a bit loco! Hammarskjöld appointed Mr. Ernest Gross to head a three man committee to hear Bang-Jensen, study the case and decide on its merits.

The Gross committee listened to Bang-Jensen only at two hearings but did not permit the Dane to have counsel and, even more scandalous, denied him access to his papers and records without which it would be impossible for any man to make any kind of a defense. The Gross Committee issued a 35 page report, with 70 annexes, which found that Bang-Jensen was "not open to rational persuasion" but went even further and accused him of having made "false and slanderous accusations against his colleagues." Bang-Jensen was never permitted to have access to the documents which he said were necessary to answer the charges made by the Gross Committee.

Some person, or persons, connected with the United Nations, then "tipped off" the press that Bang-Jensen was insane with the result that the persecuted Dane could not even get his side of the story, and what the Gross Committee had done, into the press. Incidentally, his own government did not take the phony Gross Committee charges too seriously because it voted \$5,000 for Mr. Bang-Jensen's legal defense. *USA*, An American Magazine of Fact and Opinion, for Feb. 28, 1958 has an excellent report on Mr. Gross's not too edifying role in the scandalous Bang-Jensen kangaroo court proceedings.

In conclusion and in fairness to Mr. Gross it must be noted that he served in World War II in the Civil Affairs Division of the War Department General Staff and that while in this capacity he was Advisor to the U.S. Delegation to the International Labor Organization in 1944. No combat or overseas service is indicated in the State Department release of Sept. 19, 1950. In recognition of his services Mr. Gross was awarded the Legion of Merit and the Order of the British Empire. In May 1946 Mr. Gross entered the State Department, under Dean Acheson, as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Occupied Areas. In 1949 Mr. Gross was made Coordinator of the Foreign Assistance Programs.

Mr. Gross has also held the following positions:

U.S. Representative on the United Nations Peace Commission until 1953; legal advisor to Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary-General of the U.N.; alternate delegate to the 3rd, 5th and 6th U.N. General Assembly Sessions; president of Freedom House 1953; trustee of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; director & vice pres., Asia Society; director of International Resources Fund, and Chairman of the Department of International Relations, National Council of Churches of Christ.

Because of the widespread unfavorable publicity which the National Council of Churches has received since the Cleveland World Order Study Conference, officials of the Council have been trying to minimize the pronouncements of that conference by saying that it was only a "study session and not the official position" of the National Council. This tricky and deceitful device has not worked. The press of the Nation gave too much evidence that the usual spokesmen and leaders of the National Council were not only pres-

News and Views

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Who Is Ernest A. Gross? or Who Speaks For Whom?

The National Council of Churches of Christ made history, last November at Cleveland. A Fifth World Order Study Conference convened by the N.C.C.C.'s Department of International Affairs issued a report entitled "Christian Responsibility on a Changing Planet" which was truly a most remarkable document. Some 515 delegates were alleged to have adopted the report unanimously. It developed later that a number of delegates had voted in opposition but their votes under "group dynamics" methods of operation were not counted.

Worded in the usual double-talk of the professional left-liberals, one of the resolutions urged the recognition of Red China by the United States and its admission to the United Nations. Curiously enough, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles had addressed the opening session only to have his advice thrown into the trashcan. As a staunch supporter and pillar of the old Federal Council of Churches of Christ, Dulles perhaps had hoped to have some influence on the conference. It was reported later that he had ruefully admitted privately that "It was the most devastating experience of my life."

The World Order Study Conference naturally stirred up nationwide criticism and repudiation from many of this country's top religious leaders. All this, however, has been thoroughly covered in the press. No one, it seems, raised any question as to who the chairman and directing genius of the Conference happened to be. The chairman was one Ernest A. Gross. Just who is Mr. Gross?

On September 19, 1950, the State Department issued a one page, mimeographed press release (#961) setting forth briefly some biographical data on Mr. Ernest A. Gross who was Alternate Representative of the United States to the Fifth Regular Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Mr. Gross enjoyed ambassadorial rank. He spoke for the United States when Ambassador Warren Austin was not present.

Prior to this appointment, the press release went on, Mr. Gross had been Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations. Dean Acheson, of course, was Secretary of State. Mr. Gross also served as Legal Advisor to the State Department. Still quoting from the official release we note that Mr. Gross was born in New York in 1906 and had attended Harvard and Oxford universities. He had also studied at Geneva and was a member of the Middle Temple of the Inns of Court of London.

He first entered U.S. government service in 1931. In 1933 he joined the staff of the National Recovery Administration (NRA) as Division Counsel. After a brief year with private business he returned to Washington in 1938 to join the National Labor Relations Board "and subsequently became Associate General Counsel of the Board." As he was commissioned a Captain in the Army in 1943 he

presumably served in the N.L.R.B. until that year. In 1946 he joined the State Department as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Occupied Areas. So much for the State Department release.

Unfortunately the release omitted a great deal of additional material all more or less in the public domain. The *Daily Worker* for August 4, 1954, page 2, lists an Ernest Gross as the signer of an American Assembly statement opposing our "rigid policy of permanent opposition to the admission of China to the United Nations." As this was shortly after the end of the Korean War, which cost the United States some 150,000 casualties, Mr. Gross and his American Assembly co-signers were certainly a bit precipitate in urging recognition of the bloody regime of Mao Tse Tung.

More interesting, however, is the brief reference to Mr. Gross's service with the National Labor Relations Board between 1938 and 1943. This was the period when the N.L.R.B. was loaded with Communists, including a few Soviet agents. At the time Mr. Gross was hired by the N.L.R.B. one of its three Board members was Edwin S. Smith. Smith is a registered agent not only for Russia but for several other Communist countries. He has been identified in sworn testimony as a Communist and took refuge behind the Fifth Amendment when asked the \$64 question in 1953. General Counsel at the time of Mr. Gross's joining the N.L.R.B. was the rather fascinating figure, Nathan Witt.

Whittaker Chambers and Nathaniel Weyl both swore before a Congressional Investigating committee that Witt had been an important member of the first Soviet spy cell set up inside the U.S. government by Harold Ware in 1933. The history of Witt's alleged Soviet spy connections would fill a book. He has appeared before Congressional committees at least half a dozen times but has supplied little or no information other than that his answers might tend to incriminate him if he replied truthfully.

Mr. Gross, needless to say, would have no way of knowing that Mr. Smith was a secret C.P. member or that his boss, Nathan Witt, was a secret Soviet agent. On the other hand neither Edwin S. Smith or Nathan Witt could have had any serious objections to Mr. Gross or he never would have been certified for hiring by the N.L.R.B., which they dominated and controlled.

Indeed, Mr. Gross would probably not be able to recognize a Communist if one sat in his lap. He is alleged to have been a member of a three man N.L.R.B. board which studied charges that certain individuals employed by that agency were Communists. Mr. Gross's board cleared such well-known Commies as David Rein, Nathan Witt, and others.

When Ralph Bunche was called before the Loyalty Review Board in 1954 to answer certain charges his counsel

The California Congressman concluded:

"Communists, blasphemers, and pornographers may assist the National Council of Churches to erect a new order, but I think it would be a house which neither the board of the National Council nor many millions of American citizens would want to inhabit."

Strange business for so-called churchmen to engage in!

The compilers of the National Council's guide for smearing all individuals and groups who support the statements in the Air Force Training Manual 45-0050, those hate-fringe groups and individuals responsible for the statements will doubtless, as Dr. Ross indicated in his Foreword, continue their attempts to spread them elsewhere. Much of the material in this book will be useful in combating the further spread of this poison.

Here are their quasi-military orders to their defenders:

"While the Department of Defense has announced the withdrawal of the false, offensive and slanderous statements in the Air Force Training Manual 45-0050, those hate-fringe groups and individuals responsible for the statements will doubtless, as Dr. Ross indicated in his Foreword, continue their attempts to spread them elsewhere. Much of the material in this book will be useful in combating the further spread of this poison.

"Other materials where needed and available may be had upon request to the Office of Information, N.C.C.C. in the U.S.A., 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N. Y.

"Suggested ways in which this material may be used include:

1. Pamphlets and other publications of the denominations for circulation among local ministers and workers for the Church
2. Sermons in the local churches
3. Local church discussion groups
4. Talks on radio and television
5. Speeches before service clubs and other groups
6. State and local church Council bulletins and other publications
7. Publication and discussion groups of state and local councils of church women
8. Editorial writings in religious or secular publications."

Here is an outstanding example of how the top echelon of command, run by a handful of totalitarian-minded individuals on Riverside Drive in New York City, is sending its commands down to all levels of National Council affiliated groups.

For years local Councils of Churches and units of United Church Women have been maintaining that they are autonomous groups and not *organically* related to the National Council of Churches. They say this especially when they are putting on their annual budget-raising cam-

paigns in the local community. But, these are the units through which the National Council of Churches puts out its propaganda to the church people in the grass roots.

The Church League of America has gathered, as a result of the Air Force Manual controversy, outstanding examples of how these local National Council of Churches, cooperating groups and sympathetic secular journals carry out the orders of the N.C.C.C. hierarchy to the letter.

An outstanding example is seen in the manner in which the Texas Council of Churches (Austin, Texas), the Houston Council of Churches, the Mississippi Methodist Advocate (official journal of the Methodist Church in Mississippi), Louis Cassels of United Press International, and George Cornell of the Associated Press, have picked up the anti-Semitic falsehood and have repeated it almost verbatim from the National Council's smear compilation.

The Texas Council of Churches admits in a letter of May 2, 1960, signed by its Executive Secretary, Harold Kilpatrick, that the Council distributed this smear material to churches in Texas. Mr. Kilpatrick then states, "We shall be glad to make a correction in our next mailing to the churches because we mailed out some of the material about which you complained. I have looked back over materials prepared in this office to see if we had connected your name directly with anti-Semitism but apparently did not do so. We certainly shall take you at your word that you 'abhor anti-Semitism and have fought it all of my life.' Having that statement directly from you, I would be bearing false witness if I ever circulated again anything to the contrary."

Rev. Sam E. Ashmore went even further than the National Council probably intended him to go when he stated in an editorial in the *Advocate* that one of the men whom the National Council of Churches attacked in its smear compilation made his living as a "professional anti-Semitic." Mr. Ashmore was forced to apologize and print a retraction of this statement in the April 20, 1960 *Advocate* after being advised that his slanderous and libelous article had been turned over to a major law firm in Mississippi for suit.

If the average Christian patriot were to spend his or her time bringing suits against the National Council of Churches and its obedient serfs, then he might well spend the rest of his life in the courts of the land prosecuting and collecting awards!

Only as the multitudes of sincere and honest church-going people on the local level have the truth concerning the National Council of Churches' smear strategy and tactics brought to them will a revolt of the laity, who pay the bills, take place in the United States, as it did in 17th Century England when the Pilgrims, Puritans and Methodists successfully revolted and broke away from the parent body to form brand-new protesting groups.

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Why does not the National Council answer and expose Mr. Walter's charges as false and without basis if they can do so, instead of screaming "slander and "nonsense."

PARTY MEMBERS OR FRONTERS?

In their press releases and public statements National Council spokesmen have repeatedly claimed that no one could point to a single official or staff member who was a Communist. By this they presumably meant a self-admitted, card-carrying Communist duly certified under oath by at least two Communist Party officials as being in fact a C.P. member. If so restricted and so defined they are probably right. But they did not claim, at least as far as this editor knows, that no National Council officer or staff official had any Communist front record!

During the questioning of Secretary Sharp the following highly interesting information was developed by Staff Director Arens of the Committee:

Mr. Arens. May I first say, Mr. Chairman, in view of the Secretary's repudiation of the information conveyed respecting the National Council of Churches of Christ in America, the chairman issued a statement to the effect that the leadership of the National Council of Churches of Christ had hundreds or at least over a hundred affiliations with Communist fronts and causes. Since then we have made careful, but yet incomplete checks, and it is a complete understatement. Thus far of leadership of the National Council of Churches of Christ in America, we have found over 100 persons in leadership capacity with either Communist front records or records of service to Communist causes. The aggregate affiliations of the leadership instead of being in the hundreds as the chairman first indicated is now, according to our latest count, into the thousands, and we have yet to complete our check, which would certainly suggest, on the basis of the authoritative sources of this committee, that the statement that there is infiltration of fellow travelers in the churches and educational institutions is a complete understatement. (page 1303 op cit) (Emphasis supplied—E. B.)

Mr. Arens then put into the record that Walter Russel Bowie had over 33 Communist front affiliations, Leroy Waterman at least 20 "verified connections thus far" and Fleming James a total of 25—"verified thus far." Here again is a golden opportunity for the National Council to attempt to prove to all American church-goers that the Committee's facts and figures are "false and without substance in fact." Instead of answering and exposing the House Committee, the best that the Council apparently can think of to do is to denounce a few individuals as "apostles of discord" and "hate-mongers." "If you can't answer your opponent's charges just call some one else a scoundrel and a wife-beater." Or, better still, don't attack those who made the charges under oath, but smear all who would let the public know such testimony exists!

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL'S RECOMMENDED READING

The Air Force manual uproar also brought to light a very interesting pamphlet published by the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the N.C.C.C. in 1957. Congressman Donald Jackson, who deserves a formal vote of thanks from every Christian church community and meeting, and a personal letter of thanks from every American

regardless of religious affiliation, on April 20th took the floor in the House of Representatives and read into the Congressional Record (page 7842-46) a long expose of the N.C.C.C. pamphlet "Negro American." Every NEWS AND VIEWS reader who does not get the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD should read this part of the RECORD at his library or send for a copy from the Government Printing Office in Washington, D.C.

Space limitations permit only a brief summary of Congressman Jackson's devastating exposé of the type of books recommended in the National Council's "reading list" of some 260 titles. The Foreword stresses that these titles were selected "after elimination of many more" because they "are safe to recommend for children." They are also safe, the N.C.C.C. assures us, because they "avoid stereotypes and because they qualify as literature.

Alfred S. Kramer, Associate Executive Secretary of the N.C.C.C., who signed the Foreword, states that "we of the National Council asked the women to consider books which might benefit church people." The following well-known Communists, veteran communist frontiers, or fellow travelers *did benefit* from having their books plugged in an N.C.C.C. pamphlet which presumably had a nationwide, large distribution:

Victor Perlo	Herbert Aptheker
W. E. B. DuBois	Shirley Graham
Gene Weltfish	Langston Hughes
Benjamin Botkin	Alan Lomax
E. Franklin Frazier	Gunnar Myrdal
Ruth Benedict	Margaret Halsey
Eleanor Latimore	Benjamin Mays
Bucklin Moon	

Perlo has been identified in sworn testimony as being not only a Communist but a member of a Soviet spy ring. Called to testify before a Senate sub-committee and to deny the espionage charge, Perlo took the 5th Amendment. Aptheker is one of the chief theoreticians of the Communist Party and presently is director of the party's most important school in this country. He is also the editor of POLITICAL AFFAIRS, the C.P.'s major directive issuing magazine.

W. E. DuBois has one of the longest front records ever achieved by an American. Denied a passport for many years, DuBois and his wife Shirley Graham, hurried to Russia as soon as a Supreme Court decision opened the floodgates to all Communist applicants. Violating passport regulations he then went to Red China where he defamed the United States; defended Communist Russia and Red China, and urged the peoples of Africa to rise in revolt. His wife has also been identified as a Communist Party member and she was a marshal in the Communist May Day parade of 1950.

Congressman Jackson concluded his long speech by asserting that several of the National Council's recommended books contained passages so low and shocking that he could not conceive "that any man who wears the cloth of any church in this country (can) read these lines without repugnance." Mr. Jackson, although needed by leftist Congresswoman Green of Oregon to name the books, refused to do so because placing their titles in the Record "would bring down on me the strongest condemnation of all right-minded persons, nor would it avail me anything to protest that I was simply extracting passages from books approved for children by the National Council of Churches."

The Romans had a saying for this—"suppression veri—suggestio falsi". To suppress the truth is to suggest the false.

"THE TRUTH" . . . BY THE N.C.C.C.

The *N. Y. Times* smear job was followed in a day or so by the N.C.C.C.'s issuance of a 160 page mimeographed defense statement. This was later reprinted as a small 31 page pamphlet entitled " . . . the Truth, . . . about the N.C.C.C. . . . about the Revised Standard Version . . . about noisy detractors." The introduction opens:

"The greatest enemy of atheistic and materialistic communism in the world today is Christianity. The Protestant churches, indeed all religious institutions, are the strongest bulwark against communism."

In exposing Communists, secret pro-Communists, fellow travelers, and phony liberals the anti-Communist researcher and writer suffers from one terrible disability from which he can never hope to find relief or change. This is the total and humorless lack of originality in tactics practiced by these people. Just like the fleeing criminal who seeks to protect himself behind a living shield of an innocent child or person, so these completely amoral people invariably try to use some innocent third party as a shield. They never come through with anything new or original.

Those patriotic Americans, who years ago became concerned over the boondoggling, covert subversion, and costly faddism in their schools and timidly raised some question or objection, were stunned to find themselves attacked as "enemies of education". When they made some small progress years ago in Pasadena, California, and succeeded in getting a grossly incompetent school superintendent fired they were naturally shocked and outraged to learn that they were really nothing more than stooges for some allegedly sinister *anti-Semitic* individual in New York whose very name they had never heard of before!

The same vicious and hackneyed smear is presently being used by the N.C.C.C. in the pamphlet under discussion. Like the scorpion which carries its deadly sting in its tail, it takes 28 pages of this pamphlet to get in its libelous sting on the next to the last page—"Bundy has been associated in various activities with two men identified by the Anti-Defamation League as professional anti-Semites, Allen Zoll of New York and Harry A. Jung of Chicago."

The fact of the matter is that Bundy has never been associated with these two men, nor has he been connected with Anti-semitism in any manner, shape or form! This charge is an utter fabrication and smear!

OPERATION CUTLEFISH

Dr. Carl McIntire, Dr. J. B. Matthews, and Myers Lowman of the Circuit Rider, are the other three main victims of the N.C.C.C.'s little pamphlet which might well be called "Operation Cuttlefish." None of these three eminent authorities on Communist infiltration of certain religious circles needs any defense in these columns. All of our readers, we are sure, are well informed on the great contributions these men have made to true protection of the Faith against the infiltrators and subverters of Protestantism. Indeed, the N.C.C.C.'s and *N. Y. Times* smear attacks on them are in a way the highest recognition possible for meritorious and yeoman service in the field of intelligent and effective counter-subversion.

That the best reply which the N.C.C.C. could think of in its present deservedly unhappy situation was to adopt the inky tactics of the cuttlefish is depressing but not surprising.

The entire back page of the N.C.C.C. "truth" pamphlet is given over to an interesting but not very convincing effort at "innocence by association and numbers". No attempt whatever is even made to reply to the minimum and minor charges set forth in the Air Force Manual which started the whole furore. No attempt was made by the N.C.C.C. even to try to knock down some of the minor and more vulnerable charges made against it through the years. Instead, there is a bare recapitulation of the alleged "Membership of Constituent Communions" affiliated with the Council. The various denominations are listed, the number of their churches, and claimed total membership.

The N.C.C.C. pamphlet totals up 144,231 churches and 39,256,922 church members. So without saying it, the impression is created that 39 million American making up the constituent communions of the N.C.C.C. *proves* that the council cannot possibly be wrong. Or, guilty as charged. The unfortunate fact remains that setting forth totals of membership, *having no influence or control whatever over the policies of the N.C.C.C. or even knowledge of most of its activities*, proves nothing. Statistics cannot refute or conjure out of existence the cold, hard facts of the long, unsavory record. This record of anti-anti-Communism, Soviet and Communist coddling, meddling in purely secular matters, and carrying on brazenly every aspect of the modernist and quasi-Socialist "social action" programs has been more than amply documented in this journal and numerous other unimpeachable sources.

CHARGES THE N.C.C.C. AVOIDS ANSWERING

In his opening statement at the House Committee on Un-American Activities hearings on the Air Force manual, Chairman Walter said:

"Incidental to investigations conducted by the the Committee on Un-American Activities, at least a dozen persons who have been identified as members of the Communist Party have also professed to be ministers of the gospel. In addition, several undercover operatives of the FBI who have served in the Communist Party have testified under oath respecting the directives under which they and other members of the Communist Party operated with respect to penetration of church groups." (page 1288 op cit)

Why has not the N.C.C.C. answered or denied this charge by a responsible and highly respected Congressman, one of the top leaders of his party?

Chairman Walter then went on:

"Although this question is not subject to precise qualitative or quantitative analysis, it is a fact, however, supported by the record, that the Communists have duped large numbers of the clergy, as well as lay leaders of the churches, into supporting Communist fronts and causes which masquerade behind deceitful facades of humanitarianism. This is not to say that these persons are necessarily consciously supporting Communist enterprises, but the net result is, for all practical purposes, the same." (page 1288, op cit.)

clarify this matter, I sincerely hope it can be done. Believe me to be, most respectfully."

The Cardinal replied:

"Congressman Donald L. Jackson,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.:

I have received your telegram which I have read with interest. The statement I made was clear and unequivocal. I cannot understand how some of the press distorted my statement. I respect the fact that Congressman Walter, you and other members of your committee have rendered outstanding service in exposing Communist activities.
Francis Cardinal Spellman"

Jackson thereupon inserted the Cardinal's original statement in the *Congressional Record*, page 4902, March 11, 1960, and commented:

"It will be noted that nowhere in the Cardinal's statement does the phrase 'Air Force Manual' appear. Yet that bulwark of journalism, the *New York Times*, frequently pointed out to students of journalism as the greatest example of honest, fair, and objective reporting, took unbridled license in editorializing the headline, and to give the impression to its readers that a great church leader had said something he never said or never intended to say. The headline in question is morally dishonest, factually inaccurate, and intellectually on a par with the journalistic ethics of a throwaway tabloid."

The *N.Y. Times'* fakery probably reached and impressed millions of readers and radio listeners. Congressman Jackson's exposure in fine print, buried in the *Congressional Record*, probably was not seen by more than ten or fifteen thousand readers at the most. Small wonder that getting the truth out in situations of this sort is such a herculean task!

Desperate situations force desperate men to adopt desperate methods. Checkmated in Washington, with the President understandably avoiding any involvement in a red hot religious controversy and with church and lay leaders up in arms all over the country over the revelations of N.C.C.C. skulduggery, Council leadership adopted the old tactic of low politicians—"if you can't answer or deny your opponent's charges call him a scoundrel and a wife-beater." What started out as a brazen intimidation of a poorly informed Defense Secretary over a service publication with a very limited distribution, degenerated, thanks to the N.C.C.C.'s "highest standards of Christian ethics," into a Bowery brawl of name-calling and slimy insinuations of alleged associations with "Hate-mongers."

THE N.Y. TIMES TO THE RESCUE

Again the *N.Y. Times* obligingly served as advance mud-gunner for the National Council when it published a special feature article by John Wicklein in the March 28th issue, two weeks after Congressman Jackson had exposed its news doctoring and distortion of fact. Wicklein's article, captioned "Protestant Extremists are seeking to Muzzle Clergymen on Social Issues," took up columns of valuable news space.

After briefly quoting Council spokesman Roy G. Ross, that the N.C.C.C.'s constituent bodies "are and always have been unalterably opposed to communism" Wicklein gets down to the real business of smearing the N.C.C.C.'s

outstanding critics. Out of hundreds, if not thousands, of critics of the N.C.C.C.'s past activities only five or six are carefully selected for the "full treatment".

The psychology behind this is quite sound. It marks the selected victims as "goats" separated from the rest of the "sheep". The sheep who are not smeared or attacked thank their lucky stars for their good luck and probably drop out of the fight after they have seen what happens to the "goats." Concentrating maximum fire on a few targets is also the oldest law of military science. The Wicklein barrage confined itself to Fulton Lewis, Jr., J. Howard Pew, Major Edgar C. Bundy, Myers G. Lowman and Rev. Carl McIntire. Verne Kaub of Madison, Wis, and the Rev. Billy James Hargis were casually mentioned. The Wicklein effort was strictly an N.C.C.C. hatchet job. But at least an honest hatchet job, making no pretense whatever of being either objective or even remotely fair in its presentation!

One of the big five selected for the smear treatment had accepted \$4,500 as an investigator for a state government commission. Others had published pamphlets or lectured for fees, evidently by *N. Y. Times* standards a most heinous and morally reprehensible practice. This from a newspaper which last year admitted to the McClellan rackets investigating committee of the U.S. Senate that it had paid \$35,000 as "tribute" or a bribe to a racketeering union in order to get parts of its paper delivered through a strike-boycott blockade (See page 18250 et seq. Investigation of Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field, Senate Committee on Improper Activities, Part 51, May 5-8, 1948)

Wicklein naturally made no attempt to examine or disprove any of the long list of pro-Soviet, pro-Communist, ultra-pacifist, and appeasement policies and activities which have been and are still being made against the National Council by the Church League of America, Fulton Lewis, Jr., the Circuit Riders, *Christian Beacon*, and other responsible Christian clergymen, publications, and organizations.

"If you can't answer your opponent's charges—call him a low scoundrel and wife-beater" just about cover the entire *N. Y. Times* smear job. Nor is our carefully researched and documented COLLECTIVISM IN THE CHURCHES mentioned even once by Wicklein. He also carefully refrains from mentioning this publication lest Americans learn that there are sources of information on the National Council of Churches other than the Council's own self-serving publicity releases.

Far more significant, however, than these curious omissions is the fact that the "scholarly research" of Mr. Wicklein failed utterly to turn up a single quotation of a number made by F.B.I. Director J. Edgar Hoover deploring Communist infiltration into the churches. Unchallenged testimony by former F.B.I. undercover agent and government witness Herbert Philbrick that there were so-called "ministers of the gospel" in his own secret "pro" cell in Boston is not mentioned by Mr. Wicklein. Articles on Communism use of religious figures by the Rev. Dr. Poling are studiously blacked out by the *N. Y. Times* "expert." The damaging testimony of Joseph Kornfeid, Benjamin Gitlow, Manning Johnson, John and Martha Edmiston and other former high-ranking Communists and FBI agents on just how, when, and through whom the Communists operated in penetrating church groups in this country is likewise carefully omitted from the Wicklein hatchet job.

eral secretary of the World Council of Churches, who happened to be in this country, issued a statement in Cincinnati saying that any charges that Communists had infiltrated American Protestant Churches were "complete nonsense," "stupid accusations," and "idiotic remarks." His headquarters are in Geneva, Switzerland.

With the abject apology scalp of Defense Secretary Gates dangling from his belt, James Wine came to Oklahoma City feeling pretty good. The Washington, D.C., *Evening Star* of Feb. 24th quoted him as hinting that American servicemen might be getting "Totalitarian training" from dark and sinister forces in the services. "In a subsequent interview Mr. Wine said the Air Force training manual could have been inspired by a subversive influence." Note carefully the standard and well-worn-out technique of never answering specific charges and cited facts except in denunciatory generalizations and in vituperative language. This from top leaders of an organization claiming to speak for 39 million Protestants and hence, in effect, guardians of the highest Christian conscience in this country.

For those desiring to examine the Air Force Manual first hand we suggest either sending a dollar to USA, P.O. Box 134, Lenox Hill Station, New York 21, N.Y. for the Special Feb. 23, 1960 issue or thirty cents in stamps to the *Christian Beacon*, Haddon and Frazer Avenues, Collingswood, N. J., for the March 3rd, 1960 issue. Both publications reprinted those pages of the Air Force Manual dealing with Communism in Religion.

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE HEARINGS

On Feb. 25 the House Committee on Un-American Activities stepped into the picture. Another Congressional subcommittee under a publicity-seeking chairman had threatened to summon the writer of the manual, Homer Hyde of San Antonio, Texas, for what was feared would be a scapegoat grilling of an innocent man in order to throw some one to the wolves of the N.C.C.C. who were now yelling for blood. The House report "Issues Presented by the Air Reserve Center Training Manual," Feb. 25, 1960, is most important to an understanding of this whole controversy and may be secured by writing to the Committee in Washington, D.C.

The whole affair now took a bizarre turn when Secretary Sharp told the House Committee that the manual had not been withdrawn because any of the statements in it were found to be untrue. The Air Force had not investigated the truth or falsity of the statements in the manual but had withdrawn it because it deemed some of the material as "inappropriate." Sharp also told the Committee that contrary to a N.C.C.C. statement neither he nor any other responsible Air Force officer had told the N.C.C.C. that references to Communist infiltration in the churches would be deleted from the new edition of the manual when it was published. He further said that he had not apologized to the National Council nor had he repudiated any of the contents of the manual.

Secretary Sharp was criticized by Committee members for the manner in which the manual had been withdrawn and the inept public relations surrounding the whole controversy which seemed to play right into the hands of N.C.C.C. officialdom.

After the hearing six N.C.C.C. big-wigs sent Chairman Walter of the House Committee an insulting telegram asking him to retract and apologize for his "untrue statements" against the churches." Note once more the cunning trans-

ference from charges against specific individuals to "against the churches."

The fiery little Congressman from Pennsylvania fired a telegram back at the six N.C.C.C. leaders inviting them to appear before his committee under oath and present their whole case to the American public in the form of testimony before a duly constituted Congressional committee. Needless to add, the six bold spokesmen for the now badly worried N.C.C.C. had no stomach for this sort of honest approach. They refused to appear under oath and turned instead to their publicity outlets for more attacks on the Committee, its Chairman, the manual, and all those who defended its accuracy.

THE N.Y. TIMES DOCTORS THE NEWS

On March 9th the *N.Y. Times*, always a staunch defender of the old Federal Council of Churches, came to the rescue of the N.C.C.C. with a rather clever bit of doctored "news." Headlined "Spellman Scores Air Force Manual," the *Times*, which "prints only the news fit to print," printed a complete distortion of what Cardinal Spellman had actually said.

The article quoted the Cardinal as having "deplored last night recent attacks in an Air Force Manual on the loyalty of some U.S. churches and clergymen." The rest of the two column article then went on to recount the uproar created by the Air Force Manual. The Cardinal never made such statements.

Spokesmen for the N.C.C.C. were then quoted as having termed the allegations against it as "slandorous, biased, and venomous." The Rev. Dahlberg was once more quoted as asserting that "the program of slander being circulated against the churches" was made to order for the Communists. Note once more the old, old, N.C.C.C. trick of always changing any charges against it and its officers as attacks "against the churches." The trick of accusing honest and bona fide anti-communists of engaging in activities "playing into the hands of the Communists" is a tried and trusted device of the phony liberals when exposed in some pro-Communist activity of their own.

Congressman Donald Jackson of California quickly exposed the *N.Y. Times'* fakery by sending the following telegram to Cardinal Spellman:

"YOUR EMINENCE: Evidently the statement made by you on yesterday respecting the current controversy over certain statements made in an Air Force training manual were deliberately distorted to indicate a blanket endorsement by you of the entire body of Protestant churchmen relative to their loyalty. The implication written into your perfectly proper message has done grievous harm to the fight being waged by many of us here in the Congress to disclose efforts of the Communist Party to infiltrate American churches and the efforts of a few Protestant ministers to further the cause of Godless conspiracy. As a former combat officer in the U.S. Marine Corps, I share your high regard for the dedicated men of all faiths who have served and are serving in the Armed Forces of the United States. Their loyalty has never been brought into question in any manner, nor do I know of a single instance involving the loyalty of a chaplain. The fight against the common foe has been set back by the improper use of your statement. If it is at all possible to

News and Views

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SMEAR TACTICS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

The tactics employed by a hard-pressed commander in a bad military situation usually are a good clue to the amount of worry or panic dominating the GHQ. Nothing has ever hit the National Council of Churches, or for that matter, its predecessor, the discredited Federal Council of Churches, with the same devastating impact as the recent Air Force Manual controversy. Mobilizing all their vast resources and reserves, the badly shaken N.C.C.C. hierarchy is still planning desperate counterattacks in the hope of regaining some of its badly battered standing and prestige in the Protestant community. Some of these counterattacks do no credit to an organization claiming to speak as the conscience of "39 million Protestants."

A brief summary-review of the whole imbroglio is perhaps in order as some of our readers may not be correctly or wholly informed of all developments.

Under date of February 11, 1960, James Wine, signing himself "Associate General Secretary" of the Council, addressed a letter to the Hon. Thomas Gates, Secretary of Defense, Washington, D.C. Wine inclosed a copy of an Air Force Reserve Center Training Manual N.R. 45-0050 Incr. V. Vol. 7 with a formal complaint that the manual was in "patent contravention of the First Amendment of the Constitution of the U.S." As the manual was restricted to air reserve non-commissioned officers Wine should have been challenged as to how the N.C.C.C. obtained a copy of it.

Wine then went on "To imply some relationship between the Revised Standard Version of the Holy Bible and Communism is insidious and absurd." The manual had made no such assertion. It merely said that the N.C.C.C. had officially sponsored the R.S.V. and that "of 95 persons who served on this project, 30 have been affiliated with pro-Communist fronts, projects, and publications." Note carefully the old, old trick of craftily avoiding the direct charge and then vehemently denying one that was never made and which would be preposterous and absurd to make. The charge that 30 out of the 95 people who collaborated on the R.S.V. had front records was and remains documented beyond cavil.

The N.C.C.C. demanded that the manual be withdrawn immediately and also asked for a conference with the Defense Secretary so "that we may have the complete explanation which we believe we are entitled to have." Secretary Gates turned the whole matter over to Dudley Sharp, Secretary of the Air Force. Sharp later testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities and admitted he had "immediately started an investigation" but found that the manual had been withdrawn on the morning of the same day that Wine wrote his letter.

Liberal commentators and news outlets saw to it that the N.C.C.C. ultimatum to the Defense Secretary reached every literate and radio-listening American from Maine to San Diego. Secretary Gates panicked and threw in the towel before he had time to find out what all the shouting was about. The resultant controversy aroused, entertained, outraged, or baffled millions of Americans depending on their own particular knowledge, or lack of knowledge, of the true facts behind all the shouting. Most Americans naturally were totally dependent for their information, and hence their own views, on the press and radio accounts. In these media, needless to say, the N.C.C.C. enjoys an overwhelming advantage.

PENTAGON PANIC

Defense Secretary Gates in publicly apologizing to an N.C.C.C. official (naturally with photographers present) created an entirely false impression that the manual was questionable and that the N.C.C.C. had been vindicated in its protest. The President of the N.C.C.C., Edwin T. Dahlberg, whose long front record the Church League of America documented in 1957 and again in NEWS AND VIEWS of August, 1958, called the Defense Secretary's abject public capitulation "a smashing victory for the National Council of Churches and the forces of freedom." Highly placed officials in the Pentagon confidentially reported "near panic" in top echelons over the N.C.C.C. protest. One reason was that Congress was in town and the Air Force had already been in hot water over manuals for enlisted men on how to wash dogs and wait on tables at officers' parties and homes.

Dr. Clyde J. Kennedy, President of the American Council of Christian Churches, and Dr. Carl McIntire, president of the International Council of Christian Churches, demanded and secured an interview with Secretary Gates on Feb. 24th. They spent forty minutes with Mr. Gates explaining the simple facts of life, and just what the N.C.C.C. was, to the Defense Secretary. In the meantime, Fulton Lewis Jr., and a number of other authorities on Communism in Religion worked long hours telling an incredulous nation what a few hundred security and intelligence officers and a few thousand well-informed people had known for years.

THE COUNCIL FIGHTS BACK

Meanwhile, the General Board of the N.C.C.C., meeting in Oklahoma City, pressed the counterattack. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, who needs no introduction to readers of NEWS AND VIEWS, issued a statement that if necessary he would personally see President Eisenhower when the latter returned from South America to lay the N.C.C.C.'s case before the Chief Executive. W. A. Visser't Hooft, gen-

News and Views

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The Death of a Great Church

One of America's most beautiful and historic Protestant churches today stands closed and dark. Once the church of Brooklyn's fashion and society, the 110 year old Church of the Holy Trinity today represents no communion. Its parish has been declared "extinct." The spectre of this fine old Anglo-Gothic structure now dark and silent is a dramatic rebuke to the National Council of Churches of Christ contention that charges of Communist infiltration into American churches are "nonsense."

Indeed, the N.C.C.C. with a temerity long associated with left-wingers and Communists, had the gall to demand that Chairman Francis Walter of the House Committee on Un-American Activities apologize for even intimating that there had been the slightest discernible trace of Red infiltration in the churches. Mr. Walter promptly invited those signing the officious telegram from the N.C.C.C. to come to Washington and tell their story *under oath* to the American public by way of an open Congressional committee hearing. The paladins of the N.C.C.C. declined the privilege as might have been expected.

The long, depressing, and sordid story of what happened to a fine old church is now no longer sensationalized in the press. Victors and vanquished have gone their separate ways, each side no-doubt filled with righteous indignation after the long battle was over and the Church of the Holy Trinity closed perhaps forever. NEWS AND VIEWS, however, after studying and reviewing court records, partisan booklets, and a mass of material available on the bitter controversy feels that there is a lesson and warning in the death of the Church of the Holy Trinity for every Protestant determined to guard his own church against a similar fate. This, then, is the story of how Communists killed a church.

Contrary to widespread misunderstanding, the Communists did not invade Holy Trinity in very recent years to destroy an old conservative congregation for pure malice or mere atheistic devilry. They were apparently called in as badly needed auxiliaries by a faction of liberal and radical "social gospelers" long active in the church. The Church of the Holy Trinity enjoyed a liberal reputation as far back as the '80s or within twenty-five years after its founding in 1847.

When the Rev. Algernon Crapsey of Rochester was charged with heresy because of his unorthodox views on the Virgin Birth, Brooklyn's Church of the Holy Trinity welcomed him with open arms and he later became a member of the parish. A parish member, Edward Shepherd later conducted Crapsey's legal defense.

One of the most scandalous religious books ever to appear in this country, "The Call of the Carpenter," by Bouck White, published in 1911 by Doubleday, Page & Co., which depicted Jesus as a social revolutionary, was written in the

parish house of Holy Trinity unbeknown to the rector, White, at the time, being superintendent of the church's club work.

With a long record of liberalism going back to the 19th century it was not surprising that Holy Trinity looked for another liberal rector in 1904 when the post became vacant. A millionaire Wall Street investment banker, George Foster Peabody, was on the vestry. Peabody was a fervent disciple of Henry George despite the fact that he owed all of his enormous wealth to the very Wall Street manipulations so fiercely denounced by George. The so-called "social gospel" was sweeping through liberal Protestantism and Peabody also worshipped at that false altar. He knew "just the man we want," out in Cincinnati.

The chaplain at the University of Cincinnati was a "leading exponent of the social application of the Christian Gospel." His name was John Howard Melish. At the age of thirty he had already made quite a name for himself in the Midwest. The *Cincinnati Times-Star* had denounced him as mere "muckraker." It carried cartoons showing young Melish hurling handfuls of mud at the fair name of Cincinnati.

Holy Trinity extended an invitation to the young red-haired "muckraker" to become its new rector. Melish laid down two conditions to his acceptance. One, pew rents would have to be abandoned in favor of a "free church" open to all worshippers. Two, he would have the sole right to determine policy and not simply carry out conditions laid down by the vestry. The vestry agreed to both of Melish's demands and the ground was laid for a long series of bitter and humiliating incidents which were to culminate 44 years later in his ouster and 53 years later in the extinction of Holy Trinity.

The *Brooklyn Eagle*, now itself refunct, happily welcomed the new rector as "the young Dr. Parkhurst from the Middle West," Melish's social crusading fame having apparently preceded him. A former football star and athletic coach, the new rector quickly built up one of the best church athletic teams in Greater New York. It was an era when modernist churches were branching out into every field of social activity in order to hold the younger element and to attract others to whom religion was merely a secondary matter.

So-called "higher criticism" of the Bible developed by a whole school of German philosophers and religious critics had crossed the Atlantic and was also seeping through the ranks of many Protestant clergymen. In his sermons, Dr. Melish leaned consistently to the modernist position. He set up a common radical device of the time, a Sunday evening forum where radicals, Socialists, and pacifists could hold forth in the warmth and prestige of a church basement rather than on a windy corner soapbox. Issues a bit too "hot" to handle from the pulpit at the Sunday morning

service were merely routed to the evening forum. When some of the vestrymen and parishioners began to have doubts about Dr. Melish, Wall Street Crosses Peabody brought balm from Gilead in the form of a nice fat check for the budget and all was serene and lovely again.

Although Dr. Melish frequently denied that he was a Socialist he readily admitted his close friendship for and high admiration of many leading Socialists and radical pacifists. Among them were Rabbi Stephen Wise, John Haynes Holmes, and the "atheist Bishop McConnell." He said that he preferred to call himself a "Social Christian."

His opposition to America's entry into World War I naturally created a wave of criticism within his own parish. A friendly biography relates that a serious accident confining Dr. Melish to the hospital for several months probably saved him from being fired. By the time he came out, still partly crippled, the resentment against his unpatriotic stand had been largely dissipated by his long hospitalization.

With the end of World War the century old social and racial pattern of fashionable Brooklyn Heights, where the Church of the Holy Trinity stood, began to change or deteriorate. Business houses moved in and stately old sandstone homes of Brooklyn society were converted into rooming houses. Porto Rican and non-white elements began to crowd into the fringes of the "Heights." As older families of Holy Trinity moved to estates on Long Island the social pattern of the church also began to change.

An assistant pastor, Dr. Bradford Young, openly joined the Socialist Party and campaigned for the Board of Aldermen from a corner soapbox. Dr. Melish pretended to be embarrassed when his assistant rector was jailed overnight in Paterson, New Jersey, in connection with some non-sacerdotal strike activity. This happened to be one of the very first textile strikes in which Communists insinuated themselves and tried to take over direction. After serving with Dr. Melish for thirteen years, Dr. Young departed for New Hampshire in 1939.

Once more Holy Trinity went all the way to Cincinnati to find a new assistant rector. The young pastor of Cincinnati's Christ Church certainly had a unique claim on Holy Trinity's consideration—he had been born in the parish house of the Church of the Holy Trinity in 1910. He was William Howard Melish, the second son of Dr. John Howard Melish!

THE RISE OF WILLIAM H. MELISH

The younger Melish, a graduate of Harvard, also studied at Harry Ward's Union Theological Seminary. A true chip off the old block, the junior Melish had long been closely associated in Cincinnati with Rabbi Abraham Cronbach in various pacifist endeavors. Cronbach has one of the longest Communist front records in the country.

In order to "induce" the younger Melish to come to Holy Trinity, the vestry saw fit to offer him a most unusual contract of tenure. He would enjoy the royal right of succession to the rectorship upon the death or retirement of his father. With life tenure at a substantial annual honorarium, William Howard Melish stepped into a pastorate which would be a dream to most devoted and poor clergymen.

The elder Melish, now 65, confined himself mainly to ministering to the older parishioners while his son took over the church school, office, side activities, and welcoming "new people" to the century old parish. The "new people" turned out later to be largely of ultra-liberal if not radical persuasion. The political coloration of the parish, long a light tea rose pink, began to deepen to a dark vermillion.

During World War II Melish the younger busied himself setting up Russian War Relief chapters in Manhattan and Brooklyn because "he foresaw that the future would be largely shaped by the post-war relations between the United States and the Soviet Union." A friendly biographer states that "in his leisure hours he read the best materials available on the Soviet Union and learned to read Russian." He became a leading and highly vocal advocate of peaceful coexistence with the U.S.S.R. Indeed, he was quite proud of the fact that "the War Department asked him to speak at a number of army posts in the New York area where he addressed thousands of servicemen."

Mr. Melish believed that in order to live peacefully together both the United States and the U.S.S.R. would have to build an effective United Nations. Every form of cultural and intellectual exchange would have to be fostered between the two countries. To secure a wider public understanding and acceptance for such peaceful coexistence Mr. Melish joined with several other New Yorkers in founding an organization devoted to that objective—the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

The same pro-Melish source claims that only one vestryman voiced any strong opposition, "nor did any criticism come to the ears of the rector," his father. In the findings of the Subversive Activities Control Board that the National Council was a Communist front, William Howard Melish is listed as an incorporator and founder. Appendix B to the Final S.A.C.B. findings published in 1955 lists William H. Melish as "having been a member of the Communist Party on the record."

In 1946 Corliss Lamont resigned as chairman of the N.C.A.S.F. and the board asked Mr. Melish to take over the chairmanship. After conferring with his father, the younger Melish accepted the chairmanship of what was then the largest and most important front set up by Communists. As luck would have it, shortly afterwards President Truman set up the first loyalty security program for government employees and asked the Attorney General of the United States to supply the government with a list of organizations which were Communist, fascist, or subversive. Needless to add, Melish's National Council of American Soviet Friendship was on the list.

Both Melishes naturally denied that they were Communists,

"but they were concerned with the meaning of communism and the reasons for its increasing spread. Remembering the long struggle between religious institutions and Darwinism, they asked if here might not be some parallel in this matter of Marxism. Here was a body of thought containing at least sufficient truth that in the course of a hundred years it was winning wider and wider acceptance until now it was motivating whole governments under which considerable sections of the Christian church must live. It was not possible to dismiss these new ideas, nor could their implications be evaded. There was the double task confronting the Christian Church of finding a strategy to maintain worthy religious institutions and clarifying intellectually the true relationship between two ideological systems of thought."

(The Melish Case—Challenge to the Church, page 20, an undated publication but printed in the union label shop #412, New York, which did considerable Communist front printing.)

"Their friend, the Arctic explorer Vilhjalmur Stefansson" had also pointed out to them a profound theological observation that there was a striking similarity between the current impact of Communism on western Christendom and the 16th century impact of Protestantism upon Roman Catholicism. (Steffansson, has a long front record and was also a board member of Melish's National Council on American-Soviet Friendship.)

In 1947 Tito's planes shot down an unarmed American plane slightly off course and briefly over Yugoslavian territory. Six Americans died needlessly. The arrest and Communist fake trial of Archbishop Stepinac by Tito's secret police also aroused widespread anger in America. To add to his difficulties Tito was also heading for serious trouble with Stalin which was to lead to an open break between the two Communist dictators a year later.

The Yugoslav Ambassador to the United States thereupon decided that it was high time to whip up some favorable publicity for the Tito regime. Six Protestant clergymen and two laymen were invited to Yugoslavia on an all-expenses-paid-tour to report first hand on religious freedom under Communism. The delegation was as fine a handpicked crew of pro-Communist apologists, or simple dupes, as it would be possible to assemble in all Christendom.

Counterattack, a newly founded anti-Communist weekly newsletter, and the American Legion's "Summary of Trends and Developments," devoted several issues to exposing this cynical swindle. Nevertheless, millions of innocent Protestants were taken in by the phony religious facade presented by six well known Protestant ministers journeying to Yugoslavia to learn the truth about religion under Communism. The Rev. Emory S. Bucke, editor of *Zion's Herald*, came back to report:

"We found absolutely no evidence of any restriction by Tito upon religious freedom."

This whitewash mission anticipated by nine years a similar fraudulent enterprise pulled off by top N.C.C.C. hierarchs in 1956. William Melish not only backed up Bucke but added that he had seen "documents" which convinced him not only of Stepinac's guilt but also that other Roman Catholic priests were guilty of plotting against the state—Communist state that is. To work against Communism obviously was a crime in Melish's mind.

MELISH ON TOWN HALL OF THE AIR

As a result of this whitewash junket Melish was invited to appear on the radio Town Hall of the Air program. The subject to be discussed by a four man panel was "How to Combat Anti-American Propaganda in Europe." As Melish had been long engaged in anti-American propaganda in this country, Town Hall certainly picked the right man!

The other participants were Rep. (now Senator) Case of South Dakota, then a member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities; Senator Henry Cabot Lodge; and General William "Wild Bill" Donovan of World War I and O.S.S. fame.

Unfortunately for Melish just one week before the program was to go on the air, the U.S. Attorney General issued the first of the Department of Justice's lists of Communist and subversive organizations. This put Town Hall of the Air in a pickle. It did not like the idea of publicizing the chairman of an officially cited Communist front, the National Council of American Soviet Friendship. On the other hand quietly removing him and putting in a pinch hitter at such a late hour would naturally raise a storm of questions, protests, and public derision. There was also the unpleasant

possibility of costly legal action—Communists and Communist frontiers have a nasty reputation for quick and costly lawsuits. To make matters worse Gen. Donovan also happened to be chairman of the board of Town Hall of the Air and some one had slipped him the bad news that he had a Communist on his panel. And, "Wild Bill" enjoyed a reputation of never pussy-footing or beating about the bush as far as Communists were concerned. His moral aversion for Commies was deep-seated and implacable.

General Donovan bluntly asked Melish four direct questions:

1. Was he a Communist?
2. Had he been a vice president of the Communist Civil Rights Congress?
3. Had he been a board member of the Communist Jefferson School?
4. And if he was not a Communist why had he accepted the chairmanship of the Communist front National Council of American Soviet Friendship?

Running true to Communist form for such situations Melish ignored the questions and wrapped himself up in a defense of peace and civil liberties which was loudly cheered and applauded by a claque of Communists and sympathizers who packed the studio audience. The radio carried his glib and evasive replies and the claque's loud applause to millions of listeners all over the United States.

This was too much for *Counterattack*. Its December 12, 1947 issue flatly charged that the Rev. William Howard Melish was a "traitor," "Fifth Columnist," "Quisling" and a "member of the Community Party." Melish never sued and apparently did not even demand a retraction.

A freezing atmosphere began to set in against the assistant rector of the Church of the Holy Trinity, particularly among the vestrymen. A pro-Melish writer admits that "a formerly friendly attitude on the part of the vestry now changed to cold and implacable hostility." In December 1947 one of the vestrymen was designated by the others to call upon Mr. Melish and invite him quietly to resign as associate pastor. This Mr. Melish refused to do and a ten year war to get rid of him was on.

More and more members of the parish failed to attend services or transferred to other Protestant Episcopal churches. This merely served to strengthen the pro-Melish faction numerically against a dwindling opposition. The two Melishes blamed deep snow and long hard winter for the dwindling attendance. The spiritual atmosphere inside the venerable old church dropped with the thermometer outside but not for the same reason.

THE GATHERING STORM

Dr. John Melish naturally stood by his son and assistant rector—after all the boy was merely parroting ideas planted in his head since childhood by his father. Nevertheless, the younger Melish decided to bend slightly to the storm and he gave up most of his outside speaking engagements. However, like all fanatical radicals, he could not resist the temptation to take an occasional sly pot-shot at the hated "class enemy."

When the anti-Communist motion picture "The Iron Curtain" was released the Communists threw picket lines in front of theatres showing it. The film was based on the sensational espionage activities of Russia in Canada and the United States as disclosed by a defecting Soviet code clerk, Igor Gouzenko. The National Council of American-Soviet

Friendship naturally spearheaded the attacks on the film so Melish soon found himself in hot water with his vestry once more. His defense was quite simple—and typically commie:

As a minister he was dedicated to peace. "The Iron Curtain" and all other anti-Soviet films were deliberately fanning the flames of suspicion and ill will." This in turn could easily "fan the war psychology of the country." He therefore could not retreat from the issue of war and peace "without compromising the spirit of the parish."

It was just as simple as that!

Having unburdened himself of these noble thoughts he went on to add that he would not be intimidated by the House Committee on Un-American Activities or the U. S. Attorney General's list of subversive organizations. He did concede that when his term as chairman of the N.C.A.S.F. expired he might feel constrained to resign for the sake of the parish. But to save his conscience this would have to be entirely an act of free will on his part without any coercion or pressure.

In the spring of 1948 Henry Wallace began his third party campaign for the presidency. The younger Melish was on hand as a delegate at the founding convention in Philadelphia. That summer his father delivered the invocation at a giant rally of the Progressive Party in Yankee Stadium. Informed observers estimated that at least half of the 40,000 wildly cheering Wallaceites were undoubtedly Communists. There was abundant evidence later that the whole Progressive Party idea was strictly a Communist enterprise designed to ensnare and manipulate a large bloc of liberal, labor, and radical votes. However, most Socialists, Trotskyites, and smart radicals shied away from the Wallace bandwagon. Some were even so ungracious as to yell "Commie!" at the Red parade.

THE RED DEAN OF CANTERBURY VISITS HOLY TRINITY

If there is one characteristic of which the Melishes can never be accused it is timidity or shyness. Not satisfied with their foray into partisan politics of a radical hue, the elder Melish decided to really thumb his nose at the congregation of the Church of the Holy Trinity. After some difficulty with the Immigration authorities, the notorious Red Dean of Canterbury, Hewlett Johnson, came to the United States for no apparent good reason. The Communist press gave away his importance to their cause by the fervor of their welcome. Only Stalin himself would have received a wilder Communist welcome.

Dr. John Melish invited the Red Dean to preach in Holy Trinity. There was, of course, a perfectly rational explanation for this outrage. Years before when he had visited England as an exchange preacher, the elder Melish had been received by the Red Dean. *Inviting him to the pulpit of the Church of the Holy Trinity was therefore nothing more than a gracious return courtesy!*

Knowing full well that all anti-Communist parishioners would stay away, the Melish supporters resorted to an old Communist tactic of "packing the meeting" with that type of rabid radical so familiar to Madison Square Garden in the good old days. The *Daily Worker* crowed that the line of those seeking to enter Holy Trinity to hear the Red Dean "extended four deep around the block." The police had to close the doors when 1,500 Red Dean worshippers had crowded into the famous old church. *Most of them had probably never seen the inside of a church in their lives!*

This outrage appears to have been the last straw to break the long suffering patience of both congregation and

the bishop of the diocese. After a long inquiry Bishop James Permette DeWolfe ordered the severance of the pastoral relationship of Rector John Howard Melish. Melish promptly denounced his bishop as having "violated Protestant Episcopal law" and said that he would stay on as long as the congregation wanted him. It was all "a struggle to maintain democracy and freedom of speech in the church", Melish added. It was obvious that the pro-Melish faction, tightly organized and fanatical, had a safe majority of the parish. Melish announced that 70% of the parish supported him.

The anti-Melish vestry contested this claim. They had conducted a referendum and found that 156 parish members felt that the activities of the Melishes had been detrimental to their church, 136 supported the two ministers, and 14 were neutral. The remaining 200 parishioners did not bother to reply, they were probably already on their way out to other churches.

The Melishes also boasted that they had plenty of outside support in the Protestant Episcopal church. At least four bishops were in their corner: the Right Rev. Theodore R. Ludlow, Suffragan Episcopal Bishop of Newark, N. J.; The Right Rev. William Scarlett, Bishop of Missouri; the Right Rev. Donald B. Aldrich, Dean of the chapel at Princeton and formerly Bishop of Michigan; and the Right Rev. William Appleton Lawrence, Bishop of western Massachusetts. This was a startling development in the history of the Protestant Episcopal Church as bishops traditionally avoided interfering in each others jurisdiction.

THE YOUNGER MELISH BRANDED A COMMUNIST

At this point the New York World-Telegram Pulitzer prize winning columnist and anti-Communist crusader, Frederick Woltman, entered the fray. The April 28, 1948, issue of that paper carried a long condensed summary of William Howard Melish's seven year pro-Communist record. According to Woltman the assistant rector of Holy Trinity had sponsored a Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges in 1941, had written appeals urging pardon for a convicted Communist perjurer, Morris U. Schappes; had contributed articles to the Communist *New Masses* and other party line publications; had congratulated the *Daily Worker* on its 20th anniversary; and had been photographed marching in a May Day parade, reversed collar and all. He had also signed a number of open letters, petitions, and protests of a strictly Communist nature invariably listing the Church of the Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, behind his name, according to Woltman.

The following day the World-Telegram columnist dropped a real bombshell on the Melish controversy. Woltman disclosed that the Political Committee of the Communist Party in the winter of 1943-4 had sent Louis Budenz, then editor of the *Daily Worker* to check on the political reliability of William Howard Melish. The Communist Party was considering Melish for an important post in a front organization but first wanted to make sure that he was "reliable."

Budenz spent an hour with Melish in his rectory and came away convinced that the C. P. could place implicit faith in the young clergyman. Budenz related:

"He told me he had a great admiration for our leaders and would like to become better acquainted with each one of them. He also appreciated the fact that the party had stood up well under its great difficulties and was not vanquished by events. He said he had no doubt

that a new type of democracy was arising in Russia."

Two years later Budenz confirmed this statement under oath at a trial in Connecticut.

In January, 1949, the vestry of Holy Trinity again requested Bishop DeWolfe to terminate the rectorship of John Howard Melish. The resolution was passed nine to one. Because of the peculiar contract which William Melish had secured in 1939, only his father, the rector could discharge him. Thus in order to rid the parish of the son it was legally necessary to discharge the father. The ensuing and bitter ten year struggle was not so much to get rid of the rector, the elder Melish, who was approaching retirement age anyway, as it was to rid the church of the incubus of having a Communist party member as associate rector and his scandalous outside activities which threatened to wreck the parish.

JOHN HOWARD MELISH FORCED OUT

On March 2, 1949, Bishop DeWolfe served formal notice that the pastoral relationship between the Church of the Holy Trinity and the Rev. John Howard Melish was dissolved as of April 4th, 1949. This would also terminate the ten year assistant rectorship of William Howard Melish. The elder Melish would receive his full salary as a pension for the rest of his life.

With an alacrity and zeal usually associated with Communists, *ad hoc* "Committee to Retain the Rector" sprang to arms almost overnight. Defying the vestry, this committee called a meeting which voted 261 to 27 to oust the nine vestrymen. The vestry perforce had no choice but to resort to the courts to set aside an entirely illegal maneuver to seize control of the church. The committee's zeal to protect the Melishes becomes a bit easier to understand when it is recalled that the parish had a net investment value of some \$400,000, a considerable part of which was in liquid assets.

At this point it seems appropriate to comment briefly on the role of the powerful *N. Y. Times* in what was purely an inner church controversy. While the *Brooklyn Eagle* and other metropolitan papers played the story as straight news, the *N. Y. Times* could not hide its pro-Melish sympathy, editorially and in news slanting, throughout the long controversy. The Melishes and their supporters never seemed to have much trouble getting their side of the imbrolio into the *Times* including long direct quotations. The *Daily Worker*, needless to say, also was in the Melish corner from the very beginning and the left-wing *National Guardian* was more than liberal with space coverage favoring the Melishes.

When April 4th arrived, Dr. Melish simply ignored the ouster order of Bishop DeWolfe and carried on as if nothing had happened. A week later, on Palm Sunday, his sermon consisted largely of a denunciation of the North Atlantic Treaty alliance. Bishop DeWolfe perforce had to appeal to the courts to carry out a purely ecclesiastical order. There followed ten years of endless litigation through the courts—state and Federal—which would be tedious and extremely involved even to summarize in briefest form.

As fast as one court or judge handed down what appeared might be a final decision, appeals were immediately filed in other or higher courts. The final legal costs must have run into six figures. The Melish case was aired before the New York State Supreme Court no less than six times and before the Appellate Division twice. It reached the U.S. Supreme Court in February, 1951, and that court surprisingly enough refused to grant a writ of certiorari.

When the 56th Triennial General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church met in San Francisco in 1949,

it ducked the Melish case. The House of Deputies simply refused to consider a proposed change in canon law which would provide for special parish meetings to vote on the retention of a rector who had been dismissed by his bishop. The younger Melish who attended the convention happily noted that the House of Bishops had supported him, at least by implication when it passed a resolution urging the United States to make every effort at a rapprochement with Soviet Russia—just what he and his father had been advocating for years!

THE VIRUS SPREADS

By 1950 no less than eight bishops and 1123 Protestant Episcopal clergymen had rallied to the defense of the Melishes, or at least so their supporters claimed. If the figure of 1123 is correct, then it is obvious that most of them could not be Communists going to the defense of a comrade in trouble. Most of them were probably not even pro-Communist sympathizers or dupes. Their support of an identified Communist, with a long record of pro-Communist activities offensive to his parish and church, can only be explained by the fact that Communists, at least in this country, have been amazingly successful with a tactic known as "broadening the base" of any important issue.

"Broadening the base" means to arouse and mobilize literally thousands of non-Communists and sometime even anti-Communists to fight for an issue which is represented to be a defense of basic civil liberties or traditional American values when actually it is nothing more than a defense case of a lone Communist or member of a minority group. No other sect or group, religious, political, or radical in the history of this country has ever been able to exert a greater leverage and to move larger masses of innocent and well-meaning people into widespread and yet well coordinated action behind some cause of vital interest at the moment to the Communists.

This extraordinarily successful leverage tactic of the Communists still baffles experts and wins their grudging admiration. It is a testimonial to the marvelous organizing efficiency of that special Communist apparatus set up to arouse and mobilize large segments of the non-Communist population in behalf of party enterprises. A nationwide network of highly placed people, able to influence public opinion, can be mobilized in a matter of hours apparently by a few telephone calls in an endless chain system of amplification in behalf of some important Communist cause.

This, is yet little understood, Communist manipulatory power gives the lie to that common fallacy that the Communist Party's strength and potential for mischief can be accurately measured by its membership. As well limit a man's lifting power to that weight which he can pick off the ground with his arms and back. What of the crane operator who at the touch of a lever picks up a 25 ton locomotive and deftly places it in the hold of a ship? Communists are not muscle-bound strongmen who use their own physical strength to achieve a purpose. They are power manipulators handling levers and machinery which enormously amplify their own limited efforts and capacities.

Three years after his official ouster, Dr. Melish delivered what he called his "last sermon." The sermon lauded Moses as a "revolutionary leader" and stressed that all human progress had been sparked by the "revolutionary spirit of man." Because of failing health Dr. Melish spoke from a wheelchair. In the meantime his son, whose own pastorate had been terminated with that of his father, blithely continued to fill the vacant pulpit as "acting rector." Under canon law Bishop DeWolfe, who had removed the elder

Melish from the rectorship, was unable to remove the son because he had never been legally assigned to the post.

In 1954 the Subversive Activities Control Board held long hearings on a government petition that the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship be declared a Communist front. William Melish appeared as a witness in behalf of the N.C.A.S.F. He admitted some former Communist front activities, denied others, or simply could not recall whether or not he had lent his name or support to still others.

Melish reversed previous testimony and now admitted, when confronted with proof, that he had also been a vice president of the Civil Rights Congress. The C.R.C. had replaced the malodorous International Labor Defense as the chief legal bulwark of the Communist conspiracy and its numerous fronts. He also admitted that he had permitted Neighborhood Films to use the office of Holy Trinity church as its address. Earl Robinson, an identified Communist, was the head of Neighborhood Films. Melish blandly replied that he did not know whether Robinson was a Communist or not. He was also of the belief that it was entirely possible for a "good Christian to be a Communist under certain qualified circumstances." He admitted he had marched in two Communist May Day parades.

The S.A.C.B. report beginning on page 20 is quite enlightening as to the Rev. Melish's credibility as a witness under oath:

"The witness Budenz testified that at a Party Politico meeting in late 1944 or early 1945, a high Party official told him that William Melish was a member of the Party and was being considered by the Party for chairman of the National Council but they wanted Budenz to visit Melish for the purpose of determining his integrity as a Communist; that he (Budenz) subsequently visited Melish and after asking Melish to write an article for the Daily Worker, to which Melish agreed, he told Melish that he was aware that Melish was a member of the Communist Party and that their discussion would be on that level. Budenz also testified that Melish stated at the time that he was a member of the Communist Party, that he had the highest respect for the Party and its leadership, and, that he understood fully the obligations which rested upon a member of the vanguard of the proletariat. Further, Budenz testified that he reported back to the Party official on his visit with Melish and was told the report was satisfactory.

"Melish, upon being called as a witness for respondent, admitted that he had a visit with Budenz and placed the time as May 1944. Melish testified that he expressed to Budenz that he (Melish) was interested in a number of the community activities which the Communist activities which the Communist Party had been supporting; that he did not tell Budenz he understood the importance of Communist Party discipline nor have any discussion with Budenz on the subject; that he did not tell Budenz that he understood fully the obligations which rested upon a member of the vanguard of the proletariat. Melish further testified that he is not and never has been a member of the Communist Party.

"The Melish assertion that he never has been a member of the Communist Party is not credible when viewed in the light of his entire testimony. To illustrate, in addition to Budenz' testimony, it is shown that for several years, terminating in January, 1948, Melish was on the Board of the Jefferson School of Social Science and a member of the committee that dealt primarily with its curriculum. Other evidence shows that the Jefferson School devotes its activities to teaching Marxism-Leninism in its teaching. The Director of Curriculum, when Clontz (another witness) attended the School, was a Communist Party functionary charged with the duty,

among others, of insuring that the School adhered to Communist Party positions.

"Melish wrote articles for the Daily Worker, official organ of the Party, and knew that Budenz, the managing editor, was a Communist. On several occasions he went to the office of the Daily Worker in the Communist Party headquarters building to deliver press releases. According to the issue of the Daily Worker for March 25, 1945, Melish was on a committee to obtain financial aid for the paper. Melish testified under questioning about the Daily Worker that he regarded it as only another newspaper and that he knew practically nothing about it. In response to the question whether he knew as a fact that the Daily Worker is the official news organ of the Communist Party, Melish stated; "That is hearsay, I don't know that, sir, of my own knowledge." (Tr. 3165) On being asked whether he has any knowledge that the Party is connected with the paper, Melish stated; "I did not know at that time, no, sir." (Tr. 3190) The Melish claim of no knowledge concerning the Daily Worker is not credible.

"When asked on cross-examination whether he was ever a member of an organization known as the National Non-Partisan Committee to Defend the Rights of the 12 Communist Leaders. Melish stated he did not remember and, further, that he had no recollection of being a member of the Resident Executive Committee of that organization. He also said he did not know whether it was an organization set up to defend twelve Communist leaders on trial in Manhattan. Later during his cross examination, Melish was shown a list of names on the back of which included Melish as a member. Melish then said his recollection was refreshed and he was a member of the committee; that he was aware at the time he became a member that the twelve defendants were high-ranking officers of the Communist Party who had been indicted for conspiring to advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence.

"The foregoing illustrates a considerable number of instances during the cross-examination of Melish where he first claimed not to have specific recollection and made such statements as; "If you will confront me with some evidence, I will be glad to attest to it." (Tr. 3463) The recurrence of this manner of testifying left the undersigned with misgivings on the reliability of original denials. Further, there are other instances on record showing that Melish has cooperated knowingly with no compunction in affairs with Communists. This, of course does not establish Party membership but is another consideration consistent with the conclusion, now drawn, that his entire tenure with respondent in no way mitigates a finding of domination of respondent by the Communist Party.

"The testimony of Budenz showing Melish to be a member of the Communist Party in 1944 is credited. It is concluded that Melish, during this period of his tenure with respondent was a member of the Communist Party. The testimony of Melish due to the above findings and his manner of testifying, is not credited in the area pertaining to his connection with Communist Party Activities."

By 1956 less than seventy-five parishioners remained out of some 550 who belonged in 1948. Of this handful it was estimated that fifty were anti-Melish. Several hundred newcomers had joined the parish and a few hundred more could be depended on to pack pro-Melish meetings if the call went out. Melish lawyers refused to let newsmen see the church list. Nevertheless the names of a few did leak out. Among them Shirley Graham, wife of W. E. B. DuBois, veteran Communist and all-time heavyweight joiner of C.P. fronts. Also identified Communist Milton Kaufman, Waldo Salt—5th Amendment Hollywood Communist,—and several others.

Older members, who took communion, noted that very few of these newcomers ever attended communion but generally packed in during the "coffee break" between communion and 11 A.M. services. Parish meetings became typical Communist brawls so familiar to labor union meetings into which Communists infiltrated in the 30's. All the characteristic tactics associated with a Communist fraction from long dragged-out meetings to discourage the opposition to slippery parliamentary trickery were worked on the bewildered and frightened conservative members. Generally these conservative and old parish members would walk out in disgust never to return which was just what the Communists wanted in the first place. One meeting, for example, elected a new pro-Melish vestry by the astounding vote of 200 to 0. Not even Stalin or Hitler, in their palmiest days with secret police at every ballot box, were able to roll up such a smashing victory.

A priest sent by the Bishop to replace the younger Melish was knocked down by a Melish goon. Vestry doors were jimmied and locks changed so that Melish could enter the pulpit ahead of the replacement priest. Police squad cars and plain clothesmen became a familiar sight in front of Holy Trinity. Curiosity seekers from near and far came to gape at the "church taken over by Communies". Heartsick older parishioners transferred to other churches. This served to leave an ever-dwindling group of loyal Christians to face a rapidly growing Communist dominated faction.

Affairs touched an all time low in Episcopal Church history on January 15, 1956, when Holy Trinity worshippers were treated to the spectacle of two priests shouting each other down at the altar. News pictures the following day showed William Howard Melish leading in prayer at the altar while the Rev. Robert Thomas appointed by the bishop to the rectorship read another prayer from the pulpit.

The Rev. Thomas began to read Psalm 118 and Melish countered by asking for the responses to Psalm 28. Dr. Thomas thereupon turned to Melish and said, "Mr. Melish, you are out of order." This was probably quite unintentionally the understatement of the year—Melish had been very much "out of order" for at least fifteen years or since the time when he had secretly joined the atheistic Communist Party. Dr. Thomas led the service followed by some fifty older and loyal parishioners. The controversy went back to the courts once more.

In February Bishop DeWolfe named the Rev. Dr. Herman Sidener as rector of Holy Trinity. The post had been vacant for nearly seven years. Several other Episcopal priests who had been offered the rectorship declined with thanks. Flanked by all the high churchmen of the diocese, Bishop DeWolfe conducted the solemn service of institution of Dr. Sidener. He apparently reckoned without the Communist infinite capacity for sheer audacity and contumacy. He was rudely interrupted in the middle of the service by a pro-Melish vestryman who challenged the institution as "illegal."

He was immediately followed by the notorious Hubert T. Delaney, a former municipal judge whose long front record *News & Views* has already summarized in the Public Affairs Pamphlet report appearing in the March 1961 issue. By April the Melish faction was back in full jubilant control of the Church of the Holy Trinity. Another court decision had ruled in their favor. The Melishites immediately called a parish meeting and elected an entirely new vestry. The new vestry promptly installed William Howard Melish as the "legal" rector of the church.

The *Daily Worker* was overjoyed and gave more space to the "victory" than it did to any other class struggle news.

The *National Guardian* and other radical newsheets joined the chorus of jubilation. The World Peace Council in Vienna (Communist) awarded Melish a gold medal and \$14,000 cash as an "International Peace Prize." Melish affected to be "surprised and humbled." One anti-Communist commentator noted that it was supremely ironical that an instigator of endless dissension and hatred in his own church should be rewarded with an "International Peace Prize." Another one commented that he had never heard of an anti-Communist ever receiving as much as a \$100 prize for his efforts from either a wealthy individual or a conservative foundation with millions at its disposal.

COMMUNIST SALT INTO THE WOUNDS

Later that year when the Hungarians rose in their tragic but epic fight for freedom, Bishop DeWolfe and the Christians of his parish were subjected to additional galling barbs from Melish and his supporters. Ever since its founding the National Council of American Soviet Friendship had met in an annual meeting early in November to hail the Bolshevik revolution of Nov. 7, 1917. The 1956 meeting convened just as Soviet tanks and Mongolian machine-guns were drowning the Hungarian uprising in a sea of blood.

Melish addressed the quising meeting in a straddling, equivocal speech which obviously stuck in his throat. He naturally could not avoid Hungary on whose tragic fate the interest and concern of the whole world was concentrated. Melish told the N.C.A.S.F.: "Multitudes of men and women had greeted the birth and watched the rise of the Soviet Union as the embodiment of such a rational and ethical concept of society." It was a great pity that such a genuine socialist society was now "sadly compromised." He deprecated the "open resort to armed coercion in Hungary" but he firmly rejected any apology whatsoever "for our years of working for American-Soviet friendship."

While the whole world was outraged over what was going on in Hungary, while thousands of Communists all over the world tore up their party cards, while students of all political shades demonstrated in front of Soviet embassies from Paris to Buenos Aires, and while Hungarian Communists themselves largely fought on the side of the freedom fighters in one of the most heroic struggles for human freedom in modern times, the "Rev." Melish "deprecated" what he euphemistically called "coercion." He urged his quising audience "to take the long view and to continue to work for world peace"—presumably meaning world communism.

Bishop DeWolfe expressed "burning indignation" not so much over Melish's hypocrisy and what he said as over the fact that he had the consummate bad taste and audacity to appear at such a quising gathering when Christians were being massacred in Hungary by the very Communists whom Melish supported and defended. Bishop DeWolfe added:

"This one supply priest has brought scandal and disgrace to this diocese and serious unrest among Christian people everywhere."

It should be noted in passing that the Rev. Richard Morford, a former Presbyterian pastor, and the notorious Harry F. Ward of Union Theological Seminary had also attended the N.C.A.S.F. meeting which Bishop DeWolfe aptly pointed out had been called "to celebrate the bloody founding, the bloody past, and the bloody present of the goddess Soviet Union."

Melish, with typical Communists crust, promptly demanded that Bishop DeWolfe retract what he had said. The *Daily Worker*, always pinched for space, gave over a whole page to Melish's castigation of his bishop.

On June 24, 1956, the Appellate Division of the New York State Supreme Court by a vote of 4 to 1 held that William Howard Melish had no legal right to the rectorship of Holy Trinity. Melish asked for a stay and filed notice of appeal. The N.Y. State Court of Appeals refused to stay the ouster. On July 8 Dr. Sidener re-assumed the rectorship after having been more or less barred from the church for sixteen months by militant Melishites.

The services themselves were without serious incident except for a note handed to Dr. Sidener by a pro-Melish vestryman stating he was not wanted in the church and to "go away in Christian humility." Later Dr. Sidener joined the congregation in the gymnasium for the customary coffee and lemonade "break." A lady asked for his address, he obligingly jotted on a piece of paper but before he could hand it to her a vigilant Melishite "suspecting treachery" snatched it from the astonished minister's hand. This led to floors and a scuffle in which the rector was knocked to the floor.

This apparently exhausted the patience and forbearance of Bishop DeWolfe. At the July 21 services Dr. Sidener read an order from Bishop DeWolfe closing down the stately 110 year old church "until further notice." In his farewell sermon Dr. Sidener preached on Christian humility, compassion, and loyalty to vindicated authority." He also observed that it was impossible to make a good omelette out of rotten eggs. Mr. and Mrs. Melish sat in a front row of the congregation. Twelve detectives mingled in the congregation or stood about outdoors in event of any further violence. Church authorities in New York expressed the belief that this was the first time in history that a church in that city had been closed because of factional fighting.

Faithful to the Melishes to the bitter end, the *N.Y. Times* carried the item sympathetically to the Melish side. It delicately referred to the "alleged pro-Communist activities of William Howard Melish" as if they really had amounted to nothing. The *Daily Worker*, never particularly noted for its church news coverage, gave most of its front page to the story.

Closing of the church meant little to the pro-Melish faction, they continued to use the other buildings for their social functions and their customary "coffee break" between Communion and 11 A.M. services even when there were no longer any services. Five months after the formal closing of the church, the Melishites held a "bazaar" to raise funds for some special and undisclosed purpose.

On December 5, 1957, the New York Court of Appeals at Albany upheld the ouster of William H. Melish. All seven judges concurred in the finding of a lower court that Dr. Herman S. Sidener had been duly and legally chosen by a quorum of the vestry of Holy Trinity in 1956.

In May, 1958, Canon Charles MacLean of the Long Island Diocese announced that Dr. Edward Saunders, Archdeacon of Brooklyn and Rev. H. K. Cowan would hold services in the re-opened church. He promptly received a letter over the signature of Senior Warden Cameron Beadle, a Melish supporter stating:

"We consider you as an announced trespasser and we will resist your trespass with all means at our disposal."

Bishop DeWolfe called the letter "fantastic" but nevertheless called off the services because he did not want to "turn the church, the house of God, into a place of resistance and battle."

The next move was to secure a court order evicting the Melishes from the rectory. This led to another prolonged battle which ended by a three to two Appellate Court decision upholding the right of the elder Melish to continue to live in the rectory for the rest of his life as part of retirement agreement signed years before. The younger Melish, however, did not enjoy any similar right even as a "guest" as he had contended. He moved out just before the sheriff was empowered to evict him and his family.

Even the departure of the younger Melish did not cool off the militancy of the pro-Melish faction. Dr. Sidener's assistant rector, a Rev. Cowan, came to take physical possession of the church and its buildings. He found chains on all the doors and when he tried to have them hack-sawed through he was quickly beset by an angry pack of battling Melishites. The police intervened and both sides continued the argument at the police station.

The next day Dr. Cowan returned with a Supreme Court order turning the church and all of its property over to Dr. Sidener. A police captain accompanied him. They were denied entry through a barred door by one Alexander Munsell who ridiculed the court order as being "no good because it ain't signed by the proper judge." The police captain suggested that Dr. Cowan break down the door but the young Episcopalian priest turned down the suggestion that force and violence be used to gain legal entry to the church.

Munsell claimed to be the treasurer of a Melish Defense fund. Two years before he had appeared before the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee where he invoked the Fifth Amendment as to C.P. membership. He refused to deny or affirm that he was the same Alexander Munsell who had been a Communist candidate for the Baltimore City Council in 1939.

Precisely at 9 A.M. June 10, 1959, the Rev. Herman Sidener arrived at the Church of the Holy Trinity. He was accompanied by the Archdeacon of the Diocese and a squad of ten policemen. Armed with a court order they took possession of the church ending years of bitter controversy and unheard of violence and chicanery in a church. A locksmith once more changed all the locks and the church was "closed for the time being" on the order of Bishop DeWolfe.

On December 28 that same year the Melish faction suffered the bitterest blow of all, a court decision handed over possession of some \$400,000 of the church in cash and securities to Rector Sidener, as belonging to the diocese and not to the rump remnants of a congregation long scattered and gone.

The younger Melish was last reported as working for the Southern Conference Educational Fund of New Orleans, a Communist front according to the Senate Internal-Security Sub-Committee.

The Church League of America has gone to considerable trouble and expense to gather together the tragic story of the Communist murder of a fine old church. The dark and silent edifice in Brooklyn should stand as a stern warning to all true Christians to guard their own churches against a like fate.

We need to heed the warning of the Holy Scriptures which tell us:

"Beware of false prophets which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves."

(St. Matthew 7:15)

Special Report

THE ROY BOY

PUBLISHED BY CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA—MAY 1961—WHEATON, ILLINOIS

The Church League of America has received numerous inquiries as to who Ralph Lord Roy is. Mr. Roy is one of the defenders of the ecumenical movement and Modernist leaders of the National Council of Churches who have been caught in the web of subversion within the United States.

His most recent book, *Communism and the Churches*, is being used by the radical theologians he defends to pooh-pooh the hundreds of pages of sworn testimony, given before the committees of the United States Congress by expert witnesses who have seen Communist penetration of churches in action.

This book is adequately exposed by the famous scholar, and former research director of two government investigative committees, Dr. J. B. Matthews, in a Special Edition of *NEWS & VIEWS*, Vol. 24, No. 6 dated May, 1961, and published by the Church League of America.

This white-wash of Communist activity within churches by Mr. Roy was financed by the tax-exempt foundation known as The Fund for the Republic.

In order that Christian people throughout the United States might know the true background concerning Mr. Roy and his tactics, the Church League of America herewith publishes the chapter from the Best Seller, *Collectivism in the Churches*, which is now in its fifth edition. Not one line of the following information on Mr. Roy has ever been refuted!

"APOSTLE OF DISCORD"

Chapter 18

From *Collectivism in the Churches*

Men hailed as leading theological scholars of today are the authors of totally anti-Christian books. One example is a young radical who calls himself a Methodist, gives his home address as the Union Theological Seminary in New York, and has his books published by a Unitarian publishing house in Boston. He has become the darling of The National Council of Churches. He has attacked leading defenders of the Christian faith throughout the United States who would not go along with the radicals in the ecumenical movement. His name is Ralph Lord Roy. His book, *Apostles of Discord*,⁴ has been quoted and regurgitated by National Council leaders against those who point out from the official records of the Councils themselves how they have departed from the Christian faith. Roy has defended Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam and has attacked the committees of Congress that have investigated Bishop Oxnam and others in the religious world who have aided the cause of communism in the United States.

Ralph Lord Roy is a fervid ecumenical promoter and has become a major spokesman for the apostles of ecumenism and modernism. Because the most fashionable "interfaith" leaders wish to admit adherents of Judaism into virtual communion with the Christian denominations, they are determined to alter the integrity of the New Testament to make this possible. Roy is ready to oblige. Using "liberal

scholars" for his authorities, he attacks the New Testament Scriptures for being "anti-Semitic":

Many liberal scholars, however, express the concern that the New Testament, as the creation of fallible men, was influenced strongly by anti-semitic sentiments current in the first century of the Christian era. The Gospel of John is especially full of hatred for the Jews. The worst text is John 8:44, "Ye are of your father the devil." One commentator insists, "It is simply inconceivable that Jesus of Nazareth ever said these words." . . .

Some scholars have urged the churches to take forceful action against these corrupted passages. Dr. Frederick C. Grant, New Testament professor at Union Theological Seminary in New York City, laments: "The shame of the church is that it has permitted anti-Semitism to survive within its own ranks. The causes, like the origins, of this disgraceful and dysgenic social attitude certainly lie outside the New Testament and are shared by Jews and non-Jews; but that the Christian sacred Scriptures got infected with the virus, that the poison survives there to this day, that the Church has hitherto done very little to counteract the infection—all this is inexcusable."⁵

Dr. Grant⁶ goes on to say that Christians should stem the tide of anti-Semitism by acknowledging the "seriousness of the situation within the New Testament itself." He says that material for use in religious education, sermons, and public worship should be carefully chosen and that these "anti-Semitic" passages should be eliminated from this material. These passages in the New Testament, he says, are "misrepresentations of the Jewish religion."

"Liberal scholars," according to Roy, say that the New Testament is the creation of "fallible men." This has never been the view of historic Christianity. The great scholars of both Protestantism and Catholicism for over two thousand years have acknowledged the Old and New Testament Scriptures to be the work of the Holy Spirit, the Third Person of the Trinity, who guided the pens of the authors of these books which form the Bible. The "liberal" scholars, in their left egotism, would have the world believe that God Himself has left organized Christianity in the dark for twenty centuries in regard to the veracity of the Scriptures—and that He finally brought the world out into the light when the liberal scholars suddenly arose on the scene in the twentieth century. *This is the spirit of communism itself—the spirit which tries to destroy established truths, to undermine faith in great religious doctrines, to brainwash people into thinking that things that were once called true are no longer true, and to plant the seeds of rebellion or revolt against all duly constituted authority, whether it be in the secular world, in the field of governmental authority, or in the religious world, with respect to the authority of the Scriptures and of Christ Himself.*

Roy's book was endorsed by such well-known left-wing adherents as Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam; his own Professor

John C. Bennett of Union Theological Seminary; the executive editor of the left-wing *Christian Century*, Harold E. Fey; Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr of Union Theological Seminary, and the notorious enemy of Christianity, the late Leon M. Birkhead.

Mr. Birkhead for years ran a publishing house in Kansas City with Haldeman-Julius, issuing atheistic and anti-Catholic literature. He became an apostate from the Methodist Church and was known as an agnostic, an atheist, a defamer of Christian ministers, and as one who advocated destruction of the theological seminaries. Mr. Birkhead later came to New York City and took over the left-wing Friends of Democracy, which contains hate files on Americans in all walks of life.

In the December 1953 issue of a magazine entitled *Exposé*, L. M. Birkhead, as president of the Friends of Democracy, said (emphasis added):

During recent years the Research Department of Friends of Democracy under my direction has helped to produce books which have made a tremendous dent on the thinking of America. The first of these was *Undercover* by John Roy Carlson, followed by his book *The Plotters*. These books sold almost a million copies and have been widely quoted and imitated. Add to the list Henry Hoke's *Black Mail and It's a Secret* and E. A. Piller's *Time Bomb*—all of them best sellers. And now we have the current best seller, *Apostles of Discord* by Ralph Lord Roy. All of the aforementioned books were either written in the Friends of Democracy research department or by members of the FOD staff itself.

George Washington Robnett of Evanston, Illinois, then the executive secretary of the Church League of America, brought suit for libel against "John Roy Carlson," who had fifteen known aliases and whose real name was Avedis Boghos Derounian. The jury, in the Federal Court in Chicago where he was tried, sustained the charge of libel. Judge John P. Barnes, in rendering his decision, declared that "Carlson's" book, *Undercover*, "was written by a wholly irresponsible person who would write anything for a dollar. . . . I wouldn't believe this author if he was under oath."

Mr. Roy's sources of information, listed in the front of his book *Apostles of Discord*, are exactly the same as those listed by Mr. "Carlson"!

Now, Roy, when he is attacked, can point to a name on the jacket of his book and say, "Well, my book has been endorsed by Herbert A. Philbrick." Mr. Philbrick, a young churchman and an informer for the F.B.I. for nine years within the Communist Party of Massachusetts, has been asked why he permitted his name to be used on the jacket of a book of this character, which had been endorsed by four radicals with Communist-front records who were leading persons in the field of religion.

The author of the present book was one of those who asked, and this is Mr. Philbrick's reply (emphasis added):

White Plains, N.Y.
June 10, 1954.

Mr. Edgar C. Bundy
1407 Hill Ave.
Wheaton, Ill.

Dear Mr. Bundy:

Because of the fact that I have been out of town a great deal during the past few months on lecture tours, I hope you will forgive this tardy answer to your letter of March twenty-fifth.

In reply to your question, my "endorsement" of *Apostles of Discord* does not constitute affirmation or agree-

ment in views between myself and the author, Ralph Lord Roy. I do, however, think that the book presents, to most people for the first time, a picture of fundamental differences and disagreements within the Protestant Church which need to be examined. I do think Mr. Roy is unfair in his inclusion of some names, and his lumping together such names as Adolf Hitler and Gerald K. Winrod with those of Daniel A. Poling and Major General William J. Donovan. Also I decry the mention of the Freedom Foundation with "hate sects" and "hate mongers." I believe that such guilt by association is most unfair.

However, I would still recommend the reading of the book because of the belief expressed in the *Apostles of Discord*. I believe that the average American citizen has a great deal more common sense than a lot of us give him credit for, and I feel they will therefore be able to read Roy's book and draw their own conclusions.

Incidentally, Mr. Roy states on the bottom of p. 241 that you had described John A. Mackay, president of Princeton Theological Seminary, as a "Presbyterian Red." Since the book was not published until mid-1953, and therefore your information pre-dates July of 1953, I am somewhat curious as to what information you had concerning Mr. Mackay. I was certainly shocked to read the Presbyterian Letter issued last October 1953, over the signature of Dr. Mackay, and to note that it supported not only the complete foreign policy program of the Soviet Union, but also contained all of the fundamental premises of Marxism, Leninism, and Stalinism concerning class struggle, imperialism, force and violence, and revolution.

Thank you for your letter and I hope I have been able to answer your questions satisfactorily.

Sincerely yours,
[signed] Herbert A. Philbrick

Ralph Lord Roy is one of the most articulate spokesmen for The National Council of Churches and its leaders. Often, when Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam and other leaders of the Council wish to attack genuine ministers of the Gospel who have been exposing them effectively, they cite Ralph Lord Roy and his *Apostles of Discord* as their authority.

The methods by which Ralph Lord Roy obtained material for his writings are strikingly similar to those by which "John Roy Carlson" obtained his. "Carlson," operating under one or another of his aliases, gained access to offices and homes on some plausible pretext and gathered material from his unsuspecting victims or their associates. Ralph Lord Roy, also on some plausible pretext, wormed his way into the confidence of clergymen and their families and obtained the information he desired. One instance of his activities is related by Dr. Carl McIntire in his book *Servants of Apostasy*:

It was the usual hot, humid Labor Day weekend. There arrived early Sunday morning, September 2, 1951, at Collingswood, a young man, Ralph L. Roy, fair complexioned, with a bright eye and a ready tongue. He said that he was a student at Columbia University, working on his master's degree, and that he wanted to write a story about the movement of which the Collingswood church and its pastor were a part. He had contacted the *Atlantic Monthly* and *Harper's* and had received approval from them, he explained, provided his article was satisfactory. He represented himself as being sympathetic. He was introduced to various officials and welcomed at the church as visitors are always welcomed. He said that his grandmother was an old-fashioned Methodist in Vermont and that, though he preached in his own church, he really

was not a licensed Methodist preacher. But his story varied some.

He expressed surprise at what he saw in Collingswood, at the work which was being done in the church and Sunday school. He returned again on Sunday evening. Afterwards he expressed a desire to visit Harvey Cedars, the Bible Presbyterian Conference at the seashore, for the Labor Day meeting where I was to speak. I arranged to take him to the seashore the next day with my family in our car. On the way, we conversed at length. He reported that he had visited the New York headquarters of The National Council of Churches, and they did not want to say very much to him about us. He had been to the World Council's headquarters and they had given him all the material they had about the International and American Councils of Christian Churches. He said they had referred him to the Friends of Democracy of which the late L. M. Birkhead was the director. He had interviewed Birkhead and others at length, he said, about our movement.

It was clear in talking with him that he did not believe in Jesus-Christ as his personal-Savior as the Scriptures teach it. On the return trip we spent most of the time explaining to him the way of salvation and endeavoring to lead him to accept Christ as his personal Savior. He seemed to know all the answers. He was steeped in the whole higher critical theory and was interested in building a "Kingdom of God" on this earth. We explained to him repeatedly the way of eternal life. He told us it was a wonderful thing to believe, if one could believe it, but that he could not conceive of a God making such a free gift to man.

Later, he wrote us a letter dated September 12, 1951, from Swanton, Vermont, saying:

"Please accept my manifold thanks for your hospitality and assistance in clarifying many of the issues that were in my mind. I am still not perfectly clear on several points, but the conversations with you enabled me to look at your endeavors with greater objectivity than before.

"God bless you, your wonderful wife and family, and may He give you new visions of His Truth and His Beauty."

After his departure on Monday, in a lengthy memorandum which I prepared, I wrote, "It looked to me as though here was a young man who either has been assigned or has set out on his own to write one of these colorful smear-type stories."

His story came repeatedly and in various places. "Ministry of Schism" was the title of an article on the American Council of Christian Churches appearing in *The Pastor*, October 1952, reprints of which were immediately distributed "as a service of the Commission on Public Relations and Methodist Information." It was announced that he was a graduate student at Union Theological Seminary, New York. *The Christian Century* carried several articles by him, attacking [myself], *The American* and the International Councils of Christian Churches, and the *Christian Beacon*.

"*Ministry of Disruption*" was the title of a 20-page mimeographed document "for private circulation" issued by the "Division of Literature and Publications, The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y." The subtitle read, "A brief study of the activities of Carl McIntire and the American Council of Christian Churches,"

with the information that "this study has been compiled by Ralph L. Roy." This document was sent to mission stations throughout the world and turned up in various conferences where missionaries gathered to talk.

These articles were, in fact, sections or rewrites of material in the book which was to appear in 1953 entitled *Apostles of Discord*. "Protestant Fringe Groups Promoting Hate and Disruption" was the subtitle of the book with the following commendation on the front jacket: "BISHOP OXNAM: 'An extraordinarily valuable piece of work.' REINHOLD NIEBHUR: 'Ralph Roy has performed an important task in his careful analysis.'" Here it was learned that Roy had been working under the consultation and guidance of John C. Bennett of Union Theological Seminary, the author of the World Council's pronouncement on "The Church and the Disorder of Society," adopted in Amsterdam in 1948, which the former editor of the *Christian Century*, Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison said was "overloaded with Communist sympathy."

Roy also made an ingratiating approach to Dr. Harleee Bordeaux, office secretary of the American Council of Christian Churches, at 15 Park Row, New York. Dr. Bordeaux received him cordially after Roy had represented himself as a Columbia University student engaged in gathering material for a thesis on the struggle between the orthodox and liberal wings of Christianity. Subsequently, Roy attacked the American Council.

Similarly, he launched assaults on Mr. Verne Kaub, retired public-relations director of the Wisconsin Power and Light Company and now chairman of the American Council of Christian Laymen in Madison, Wisconsin. These attacks, following a friendly letter to Mr. Kaub, appeared in the form of articles written for the *Christian Century*, *The Pastor*, and *The New Republic*. Ultimately, the assaults on Mr. Kaub and on many others appeared in his book, *Apostles of Discord*.

The Fund for the Republic, which has assisted The National Council of Churches in its secularized program, sought an authoritative person to collect material and write a book on communism and the churches. Ralph Lord Roy of Union Theological Seminary, in conjunction with Paul A. Carter of Columbia University, was selected. These men worked under a grant of \$250,000 furnished by The Fund for the Republic.

The following is an excerpt from the review by Dr. J. B. Matthews of Ralph Lord Roy's book *Communism and the Churches*:

Roy: Endorser of Funeral for Communist

On April 9, 1957, a Negro leader of the Communist Party, one Edward E. Strong, died after an illness of some three months. At the time of his death, Strong "was a member of the Communist Party's national committee and head of the Party's Southern Regional Committee." He was also under an indictment alleging "conspiracy to teach and advocate the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence," a fact which was reported in the *New York Times*, on May 30, 1956. The Rev. Gardner C. Taylor preached the funeral sermon in the Concord Baptist Church of Brooklyn, of which Dr. Taylor was, and still is, the pastor.

In an interview several months after his preaching Strong's funeral sermon, Dr. Taylor told a *New York* newspaper that he was "completely ignorant of Strong's Red ties," although the Communist Party leader had been a member of his church for more than a year. Dr. Taylor also said he was not aware of the "deceased's leftist affilia-

tions" until he arrived at the church and saw the assemblage of Communist leaders. Edward E. Strong had been a prominent Negro Communist leader himself for more than twenty years. His positions in the Communist apparatus had included the following: first vice-chairman of the American Youth Congress; delegate to the World Youth Congress in Switzerland; executive secretary of the All-Southern Negro Youth Conference; member, national committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy; chairman, youth section of the National Negro Congress; an organizer of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; and the Young Communist League. Other Communist organizations with which Edward Strong was affiliated included the following: Young Communist Review; American Peace Mobilization; and the Second World Youth Congress.

Obviously, the Rev. Gardner C. Taylor was not acquainted with the activities of at least one of his members. In his funeral sermon, Dr. Taylor described Strong "as one who dared to dream and work for the new world every good person desires." He claimed, however, that the quotation was taken out of context.

Ralph Lord Roy says that he had attended the funeral service for Edward Strong in the Concord Baptist Church in Brooklyn, N.Y. Roy says that Dr. Taylor "was only performing what he saw as his duty as a pastor." According to Mr. Roy, "Walter Winchell, J. B. Matthews, and others began a campaign to discredit Taylor."

For myself, I can say that I was greatly interested in the unprecedented phenomenon of a church funeral for one of the highest functionaries of the Communist conspiracy. To what extent, if any, did the Edward Strong church membership and church funeral represent a new line of the Communist apparatus on the subject of religion? Was it in the nature of an experiment, staged by the strategists of high Communist policy, for the purpose of discovering or probing the possibilities of a bold move to infiltrate the churches as one of the important institutions in American society? Did the Edward Strong church membership and funeral mean nothing more than a special dispensation granted to a member of the highest level of the Communist conspiracy? To what extent, if any, did the Edward Strong episode represent a new approach of the Communist Party to the Negro Churches?

Granting that the Rev. Gardner C. Taylor could hardly refuse a Christian funeral to one of his parishioners, if the family requested it, was it necessary for the clergyman to characterize a Communist Party leader "as one who dared to dream and work for the new world" etc., or was it necessary for Dr. Taylor to characterize the Communist

society as "the new world every good person desires"? All of these questions bear directly on the question of Communism and the churches. Mr. Roy rejects them as irrelevant to his study. Why did Mr. Roy attend the Edward Strong funeral in the Brooklyn Baptist Church? Was his attendance a part of his research?

Edward F. Strong, dead at 42, spent part of his youth and all of his adult life in the service of the Kremlin-hatched world conspiracy to enslave the human race. Why and in what circumstances he joined the Brooklyn Baptist church was completely irrelevant to Mr. Roy's investigation of Communism and the churches. The fact that Mr. Roy found the Strong-Taylor episode irrelevant for his investigation, except as a sentimental oddity, tends to substantiate the view that he had purposes in mind other than a research project for an objective study in the Communist infiltration of the Protestant churches. Mr. Roy shows a marked tendency to consider whatever is truly revealing with respect to the churches and Communism, as irrelevant for his purposes. As a title for the mass of data — some true, some false, some inconsequential — which Mr. Roy has put together, and which deals only secondarily, if at all, with the how's, the why's, and the who's in the operations of Communists within and around the ranks of the clergy, *Communism and the Churches* is a misnomer. Like the guinea pig, which is neither guinea nor pig, Mr. Roy's book is not about Communism or the churches. A more appropriate title would have been *How to Get Preachers Off the Hook*, with the sub-title *The Use of Smear Techniques in the Fight Against Anti-Communists*.

NOTICE TO READERS: As an antidote to Ralph Lord Roy's *Communism and the Churches*, just in case any of you spent \$7.50 foolishly for Mr. Roy's mass (or mess, if you prefer) of data which are irrelevant, mendacious, misrepresentative, special pleading, doctored nonsense, or just plain ignorance, I strongly recommend Edgar C. Bundy's *Collectivism in the Churches* which you can get for \$2.00 from The Church League of America, and which you can read with confidence that you are not being bamboozled. *Caveat Emptor!*

4. Beacon Press, Boston, 1953.

5. *Apostles of Discord*, p. 72.

6. The files of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives list Dr. Frederick C. Grant of Union Theological Seminary as a member and sponsor of the "Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges," the well-known alien Communist labor leader in the United States.

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Ralph Lord Roy's Communism and the Churches^{*}

by J. B. Matthews

By way of a preface to the facts and opinions herein stated, it should be clearly understood that Mr. Roy's book, *Communism and the Churches*, does not, in this reviewer's opinion, reflect the prevailing views and attitudes of any large section of the Protestant clergy in the United States.

On the contrary, Mr. Roy's theses faithfully represent in a general way the viewpoint of several Protestant groups of clergymen which, taken singly or collectively, constitute a relatively small but highly articulate minority.

Endorsers of Mr. Roy's Conclusions

There is no surprise in the fact that Bishop James A. Pike, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Dean John C. Bennett, and A. J. Muste are among those who have heaped praise upon Mr. Roy's book. The young author of *Communism and the Churches* has made a play for the commendation of these clergymen whose bias on the subject of Communism is well known.

In any enumeration of Roy's highly prejudiced supporters, the following groups must be included: (1) the self-perpetuating bureaucracy of the National Council of Churches whose many pronouncements on controversial questions have fostered the erroneous impression that the National Council is the duly appointed spokesman for forty million Protestant Christians in the United States; (2) the non-Communist social actionists who are well organized in most of the major Protestant denominations; (3) the A. J. Muste group which is made up of relatively small committees and leagues which classify themselves as the "non-Communist left"; (4) the Union Theological Seminary group of which Dean John C. Bennett is the unofficial leader and theoretician; and (5) *The Christian Century*, leftist weekly journal of opinion, of which the Reverend Harold E. Fey is now the editor.

In all of these groups, the ideological orientation is anti-Anti-Communist. The names of the majority of the adherents of these informal groups have been found frequently on the rolls of Communist fronts and Communist-infiltrated organizations during the past 25 years. Despite these affiliations, the great majority of the clergymen in these groups emphatically deny that they are in any way pro-Communist or Communist frontiers. Many of them were once (in the 1930's) avowed Socialists. Their renunciation of socialism today is equivocal. It is largely a matter of a new jargon. Where the language of orthodox

socialism was formerly the medium of propaganda, today the ideological faith is expressed in the more respectable but tricky language of "the responsible society."

Near the Zero Mark

"Today Communist influence within the American churches is near the zero mark." With these words Mr. Roy states one of the main conclusions of his five-year study of Communism and the Protestant churches. How Mr. Roy reached this particular conclusion on page 425 of his book must remain a matter of guess work. In the preceding 424 pages, there is not a single line of supporting evidence for the assertion that Communist influence in the American Protestant churches is "near the zero mark" today.

It is quite clear that Mr. Roy went through the routine motions of research. There are 1,024 notes and citations, filling 32 pages of his book. There is even a posture of objectivity, a spurious claim of having heard both sides. All of this, however, bears no relationship to Roy's conclusion concerning the "zero mark." His copious annotations, endless hours of interviewing scores of so-called witnesses (including Earl Browder and A. J. Muste), and weary days and nights of pouring over the pages of the *Daily Worker* — all of these turned out to be works of supererogation which contributed little to Mr. Roy's personal education and nothing at all to his "zero mark" conclusion.

Concerning Roy's conclusion, several possibilities are suggested: (1) wholly inadequate research, (2) failure to recognize "Communist influence" when he saw it, or (3) an unbending determination not to find any appreciable evidence of infiltration for fear that he might be called an "anti-Communist." In the Liberaloid circles in which Mr. Roy moves, "anti-Communist" is a smear word.

Roy's Deliberate Ambiguity

Mr. Roy's major conclusions are rarely forthright and unambiguous. They are, therefore, susceptible of more than one meaning.

His phrase, "near the zero mark," leaves his readers to guess what he means. How near is "near," for example? Does he intend to create the impression that the number of Protestant clergymen who supported, in one way or another, the activities of the Communist-front apparatus was once significantly large, but is today quite negligible? In terms of sheer statistics, the number of clergymen who were, in any way, affiliated with the Communist fronts was always small in comparison with the total number of clergymen in the United States. I have

^{*}This is excerpted from a long chapter on the Roy volume in a book by Mr. Matthews to be published by the Bookmailer, Box 101, Murray Hill Station, New York 16, N.Y.

never at any time held that more than two percent of the total number of the Protestant clergy were Communist fronters.

The next question to be answered is this: how is "Communist influence within the American churches" expressed? Is the meaning of "Communist influence" limited to the fact of dues-paying membership in the Communist Party? If "Communist influence" is thus limited, then it is quite true that Communist influence within the church is, and always has been, "near the zero mark." Mr. Roy hazards the guess that the number of Communist Party members who are clergymen has not exceeded 200. I am inclined to think that the figure 200 is an exaggeration. It must be remembered that the usefulness of clergymen to the Communist apparatus lies entirely outside the realm of Communist Party membership. This is, of course, a sweeping generalization to which there have been exceptions. The rigorous discipline to which Party members are subjected makes the average clergyman an unpromising candidate for Party membership. If 10,000 ministers of the Gospel should apply for membership in the Communist Party, we may be sure that their applications would be rejected. As a group, they are not wanted inside the Party.

Mr. Roy spends a great deal of time and many pages in the irrelevant and ambiguous refutation of allegations which have not been made. This is the hoary technique, used from the beginning of time, of making straw men in order to tear them to pieces. Mr. Roy says, for example, "the Communist Party in America never did undertake a full-scale campaign to infiltrate the churches." Of course not; such a campaign would be beyond serious consideration. If a full-scale effort to infiltrate the churches means a campaign to recruit a mass of clergymen into Party membership, it would be contrary to all Communist theory and tactics.

How Many Thousands, Mr. Roy?

Early in his book, *Communism and the Churches*, Mr. Roy seems to be on his way to an accurate and fearless estimate of the Communist influence within the ranks of the clergy. He writes as follows: "Thousands of Protestant ministers and Jewish rabbis, and some Roman Catholic priests, did sign petitions or sponsor meetings that have been called subversive." (page 9)

In his discussion of the Communists' appeals used in enlisting supporters for their front organizations, Mr. Roy returns to an estimate of the number of clergymen who were induced to sponsor or otherwise support Communist enterprises. "Over the years," says Mr. Roy, "hundreds, indeed thousands, of ministers responded to such heart-rending appeals" as that of Willie McGee. (page 193) The Communist Party conducted one of its major campaigns in an ostensible effort to save McGee, a Negro sentenced to die in Mississippi.

Near the end of his book, Mr. Roy is still speaking about the "thousands of clergymen" who supported Communist fronts. This time in the form of a question, Roy asked: "Why have the names of several thousand clergymen appeared on front-group literature over the past three decades?" (page 423)

Roy does not offer any hint of how many "thousands" of clergymen there are who lent their names to the Communist-front apparatus. Presumably, his ambiguous phrase, "several thousand clergymen," means at least three thousand, and could mean more; say, seven thousand. There was, of course, a good and sufficient reason why he could

not say "seven thousand," regardless of what his research indicated. In an article which I wrote for the *American Mercury*, in the July, 1953, issue of that magazine, I said that "at least seven thousand" clergymen had supported the various units of the Communist-front apparatus over a period of seventeen years. My figure was a cold statistical fact, not an estimate. Nevertheless and notwithstanding, my statement resulted in the synthetic furor instigated by the White House as part of the campaign to destroy Joe McCarthy.

The Liberaloid Contingent to which Mr. Roy is bound by personal and professional ties is not happy about his admission that "several thousand clergymen" had put their names on what he calls "front-group literature."

Manual of Absolution

Comparing the Roy volume, *Communism and the Churches*, with the now-famous *Air Force Manual*, the latter is a model of accuracy. Mr. Roy has written what amounts to a manual of absolution. He has granted remission of sins to his wayward colleagues in the Protestant ministry. He says, in effect, all is forgiven; go and sin some more.

Roy is a talented master of the technique so dear to the hearts of the Liberaloids: the double standard. Toward the vast majority of the thousands of clergymen who have records of Communist fronting, whether they be veterans like Stephen H. Fritchman or occasional helpers like the Rev. Signer for Civil Rights, he is indulgent almost to the point of outright endorsement of their Communist affiliations. He notes with emphasis that they are clerics whose reputations are without blemish and whose motives are uniformly pure. Their support of the insidious Communist-front apparatus, whether much or little, leaves no stain of civic irresponsibility on their reputations. What little damage has been done to their reputations, in a few cases, has been the work of the church-hating anti-Communists, according to Mr. Roy.

For Stephen H. Fritchman, Unitarian clergyman whose pro-Soviet views and activities constitute a severe case of addiction to fronting, Mr. Roy observes in an obvious effort to soften the criticism of the Los Angeles Unitarian cleric by saying: "Much that he has done in Los Angeles is praiseworthy."

In defense of the Rev. Loyd F. Worley, whose many affiliations include the presidency of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, Mr. Roy writes: "... a minister who commands enormous respect. Worley is a soft-spoken man of unusual charity and integrity."

Dryden L. Phelps, who has written and spoken in behalf of the Communist regime in China, is according to Mr. Roy, "a beloved northern Baptist missionary" and "is highly regarded by those who have known him."

Francis J. McConnell, Methodist Bishop who was president of the Methodist Federation for Social Action for forty years, is described by Mr. Roy as "one of the great figures of modern American Methodism." Bishop McConnell was affiliated with at least 56 different Communist-front organizations. Mr. Roy mentions only two of the 56, in addition to the Methodist Federation for Social Action; and he does not give the slightest hint of the real extent of the Bishop's Communist-front affiliations. In a passing reference to McConnell's chairmanship of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, Mr. Roy

notes in the same sentence that the Bishop was a "beloved symbol of liberalism within the Methodist Church."

Roy Revises His Judgment on The Protestant Magazine

The Protestant, a Communist-line magazine published by one Kenneth Leslie, stands near the top (if not on the top itself) of the long, long list of the Communist agencies, fronts, leagues, committees, councils, federations, and publications in its record of enticing Protestant clergymen into the Communist orbit. The magazine, originally published as the *Protestant Digest*, is now published in Canada under the name, *New Christian*.

At the peak of its success, *The Protestant* enlisted approximately 3,000 clergymen as editorial advisors, sponsors, and signers of its numerous manifestoes.

In Ralph Lord Roy's first book, *Apostles of Discord*, published in 1953, *The Protestant* magazine was characterized as follows:

In its first issue — December 1938 — it carries a strong hint as to its future policy. Leslie asked: "Is it not possible for both Christians and Communists, instead of condemning each other in their mutual weakness, to contribute the best they each have and work together for the common good?" (*Apostles of Discord*, 1953, page 254)

In the foregoing quotation, Ralph Lord Roy says, in effect, that *The Protestant* carried "a strong hint" in its first issue that its policy was pro-Communist. Leslie served notice on the public in general and clergymen in particular, that his magazine was to follow the pro-Communist line in its editorial policy. Clergymen who accepted Leslie's invitation to lend their names to his magazine as editorial advisors, sponsors, or signers of his numerous manifestoes would do so with their eyes open and would, therefore, not be able in the future to plead the excuse that they had no knowledge of his pro-Communist sympathy.

Writing seven years later, in *Communism and the Churches*, Mr. Roy offered a new and different evaluation of Kenneth Leslie's magazine, *The Protestant*. Mr. Roy's new version reads as follows:

It demonstrated strong political bias, to be sure, but the early issues gave little indication of pro-Communist sympathy. (*Communism and the Churches*, 1960, page 281)

What Mr. Roy has as the reason for his different evaluations of *The Protestant*, first in 1953 and then in 1960, and both of them dealing with the early issues of the magazine, is anybody's guess. Regardless of his motive in switching from the judgment that the first issue carried "a strong hint" of pro-Communist sympathy to the judgment that the early issues "gave little indication" of pro-Communist sympathy, the objective fact remains that the clergymen who signed up to support *The Protestant* under the "strong hint" view could not make a case for their being dupes; while those who signed up under the "little indication" view could argue that they were duped by Leslie. And what was even more important, the clergymen who affiliated with *The Protestant*, while the magazine was still giving "little indication" of Leslie's pro-Soviet sympathy would not be held accountable by public opinion for their affiliation.

Furthermore, many of Mr. Roy's circle of friends in the Union Theological Seminary group were acquitted of knowingly collaborating with a pro-Soviet magazine — an accomplishment which constitutes one of Mr. Roy's major

objectives in writing *Communism and the Churches*! Reinhold Niebuhr, for example, "resigned and tried to persuade others to resign 'when it became apparent that the magazine was pro-Communist and violently anti-Catholic.'" Other prominent clergymen who were involved in the same way that Niebuhr was involved included Paul Tillich, George A. Buttrick, Sherwood Eddy, John A. MacKay, Wilhelm Pauck, Edwin McNeil Poteat, and Walter M. Horton.

In fact, Ralph Lord Roy executed a massive release from all responsibility for some 3,000 clergymen for supporting a Communist enterprise. The only count standing against most of them was that of being the unwitting dupes of a cunning pro-Soviet operator — his, by implication only, and not by direct statement.

Finally, Mr. Roy could not resist saying that Kenneth Leslie's "colorful personality and contagious idealism attracted many."

Roy: Endorser of Funeral for Communist

On April 9, 1957, a Negro leader of the Communist Party, one Edward E. Strong, died after an illness of some three months. At the time of his death, Strong "was a member of the Communist Party's national committee and head of the Party's Southern Regional Committee." He was also under an indictment alleging "conspiracy to teach and advocate the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence," a fact which was reported in the *New York Times*, on May 30, 1956. The Rev. Gardner C. Taylor preached the funeral sermon in the Concord Baptist Church of Brooklyn, of which Dr. Taylor was, and still is, the pastor.

In an interview several months after his preaching Strong's funeral sermon, Dr. Taylor told a *New York* newspaper that he was "completely ignorant of Strong's Red ties," although the Communist Party leader had been a member of his church for more than a year. Dr. Taylor also said he was not aware of the "deceased's leftist affiliations" until he arrived at the church and saw the assemblage of Communist leaders. Edward E. Strong had been a prominent Negro Communist leader himself for more than twenty years. His positions in the Communist apparatus had included the following: first vice-chairman of the American Youth Congress; delegate to the World Youth Congress, in Switzerland; executive secretary of the All-Southern Negro Youth Conference; member, national committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy; chairman, youth section of the National Negro Congress; an organizer of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; and the Young Communist League. Other Communist organizations with which Edward Strong was affiliated included the following: Young Communist Review; American Peace Mobilization; and the Second World Youth Congress.

Obviously, the Rev. Gardner C. Taylor was not acquainted with the activities of at least one of his members. In his funeral sermon, Dr. Taylor described Strong "as one who dared to dream and work for the new world every good person desires." He claimed, however, that the quotation was taken out of context.

Ralph Lord Roy says that he had attended the funeral service for Edward Strong in the Concord Baptist Church in Brooklyn, N.Y. Roy says that Dr. Taylor "was only performing what he saw as his duty as a pastor." According to Mr. Roy, "Walter Winchell, J. B. Matthews, and others began a campaign to discredit Taylor."

For myself, I can say that I was greatly interested in the unprecedented phenomenon of a church funeral for one of the highest functionaries of the Communist conspiracy. To what extent, if any, did the Edward Strong church membership and church funeral represent a new line of the Communist apparatus on the subject of religion? Was it in the nature of an experiment, staged by the strategists of high Communist policy, for the purpose of discovering or probing the possibilities of a bold move to infiltrate the churches as one of the important institutions in American society? Did the Edward Strong church membership and funeral mean nothing more than a special dispensation granted to a member of the highest level of the Communist conspiracy? To what extent, if any, did the Edward Strong episode represent a new approach of the Communist Party to the Negro Churches?

Granting that the Rev. Gardner C. Taylor could hardly refuse a Christian funeral to one of his parishioners, if the family requested it, was it necessary for the clergyman to characterize a Communist Party leader "as one who dared to dream and work for the new world," etc., or was it necessary for Dr. Taylor to characterize the Communist society as "the new world every good person desires"? All of these questions bear directly on the question of Communism and the churches. Mr. Roy rejects them as irrelevant to his study. Why did Mr. Roy attend the Edward Strong funeral in the Brooklyn Baptist Church? Was his attendance a part of his research?

Edward E. Strong, dead at 42, spent part of his youth and all of his adult life in the service of the Kremlin-hatched world conspiracy to enslave the human race. Why and in what circumstances he joined the Brooklyn Baptist church

was completely *relevant* to Mr. Roy's investigation of Communism and the churches. The fact that Mr. Roy found the Strong-Taylor episode *irrelevant* for his investigation, except as a sentimental oddity, tends to substantiate the view that he had purposes in mind other than a research project for an objective study in the Communist infiltration of the Protestant churches. Mr. Roy shows a marked tendency to consider whatever is truly revealing with respect to the churches and Communism, as irrelevant for his purposes. As a title for the mass of data — some true, some false, some inconsequential — which Mr. Roy has put together, and which deals only secondarily, if at all, with the how's, the why's, and the who's in the operations of Communists within and around the ranks of the clergy, *Communism and the Churches* is a misnomer. Like the guinea pig, which is neither guinea nor pig, Mr. Roy's book is not about Communism or the churches. A more appropriate title would have been *How to Get Preachers Off the Hook*, with the sub-title *The Use of Smear Techniques in the Fight Against Anti-Communists*.

NOTICE TO READERS: As an antidote to Ralph Lord Roy's *Communism and the Churches*, just in case any of you spent \$7.50 foolishly for Mr. Roy's mass (or mess, if you prefer) of data which are irrelevant, mendacious, misrepresentative, special pleading, doctored nonsense, or just plain ignorance, I strongly recommend Edgar C. Bundy's *Collectivism in the Churches* which you can get for \$2.00 from The Church League of America, and which you can read with confidence that you are not being bamboozled. *Caveat Emptor!*

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WORLD ORDER STUDY CONFERENCE - MOSCOW'S MOUTHPIECE

by HERBERT A. PHILBRICK

The author of this article is well qualified to discuss Communist propaganda techniques. As a youth he was duped into joining a Communist youth organization by Communist inspired "peace" propaganda. When he discovered the fraud, he reported it to the F.B.I. The Bureau asked if he would be willing to stick with the comrades in order to observe their subversive activities. Philbrick did so—for nine years. During that time he served in many capacities, as a secret "member" of the Communist criminal conspiracy. Among his many assignments by the party dictatorship, he served as a member of the Red "Agit-Prop" division of the Communist apparatus, working on agitation and propaganda. He was a member of the Educational Commission of the C.P.U.S.A., one of seven top Reds in charge of Marxist propaganda in District One. He was the Communist Educational Director for an important section of the Red network. He was also in charge of leaflet production, turning out propaganda material at the headquarters of the Communist Party itself. Among many other assignments, he was "literature director" for several Communist cells, assigned the responsibility of obtaining and delivering Soviet propaganda material to secret cells in the New England area. Hence, Mr. Philbrick was in a vantage position to observe and study Communist propaganda methods at first hand, over a considerable period of time.

At the present time, and continuing through June 1960, the Soviet Union is and will be racking up one of its greatest propaganda victories in years. It is being achieved through the discredited World Order Study Conference of the National Council of Churches, and by the insistence of the National Council to continue to espouse the red propaganda line even though it has been disavowed and rejected by the vast majority of Protestant clergymen and churches.(1)

Calling itself the "Nationwide Program of Education and Action for Peace", local Protestant church groups and leaders are being exhorted to promote the World Order Study Conference line by radio, television, sermons, study groups, panels, seminars and other methods of communication.

The basic material being used consists of 15 pieces: two 64-page booklets, one called "Christian Responsibility on a Changing Planet" and a companion "Study Guide"; twelve "background papers" covering six major topics dealt with in the series; and a special issue of the "International Journal of Religious Education" (November 1959 issue) with a front cover title, "Related to the Nationwide Program of Education and Action For Peace." All of this material is printed and published by the Department of International Affairs of the National Council, headed by Chairman Ernest A. Gross; Vice Chairman Ernest S. Griffith; Executive Director Kenneth L. Maxwell; and Associate Director Darrell Randall.(2)

(1) A poll of Protestant Clergymen taken by Dr. Daniel Felling and others, revealed that over 80% were in "fundamental disagreement" with the publicized position of the World Order Study Conference.

(2) In addition to the "official" material, large quantities of "supplementary" material is also being used on the local level by State Council of Churches. The record would require nearly an entire issue of "NEWS AND VIEWS". It includes material from:

Public Affairs Pamphlets
American Friends Service Committee
Promoting Enduring Peace
Peace News
L. F. Stone "Weekly"
New Times (Soviet magazine)
Committee for Sane Nuclear Policy
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Fellowship of Reconciliation

Every "official" document contains a disclaimer, denying responsibility for any allegations made in the series, or that the material is to be considered an "official" representation. This, apparently, is a useful device for making irresponsible statements while avoiding responsibility for making them. As one might suspect, there is good reason for the National Council of Churches to deny responsibility for the booklets they printed, published, paid for and are distributing.

INSIDIOUS COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

I have been a student of communist propaganda for more than 20 years. Since I was initially victimized and duped into joining a "Christian" youth organization with "peace" propaganda, I have naturally given particular attention, over the years, to this kind of red propaganda message.

On the basis of that background, knowledge and study, the "peace" propaganda now being distributed to the local churches by the National Council of Churches is, in my opinion, the slickest, neatest, trickiest, and the most insidious I have ever seen. On every fundamental issue it agrees with the current line of Soviet foreign policy. But, the way the red propaganda line has been disguised and clovered is truly a masterpiece of cybernetic warfare.(3)

A sloppy propaganda job is easy to expose. But a good job, such as the World Order Study Conference material, is most difficult to tackle. The reasons are several. First, to untangle the massive distortions of fact — and the Study Material is loaded with them — would take at least a thousand-page volume to expose adequately, unravel, and explain.

Second, in every case the World Order Study Conference took great pains to see that the original direction taken was along traditional Christian lines. Hence the perpetrators of the fraud can (and they will!) point to high-sounding phrases, noble statements of purpose, inflexible

(3) For a full description of the techniques of Cybernetic Warfare, see "How the Communists Control Thoughts and Attitudes" by Herbert A. Philbrick, The National Education Program, Secoy, Arkansas—25¢ copy.

goals and aims of great magnitude. *IN EVERY CASE*, however, the original direction is changed; the emphasis is shifted; the initial premises are nullified . . . and in their place are substituted communist interpretations.

Third, a common tactic of communist fronts is to "dress up" the propaganda material with a lot of names, most of whom cannot possibly be considered communist, pro-communist, red or pink. This serves several purposes beyond the obvious one of draping a mantle of respectability. For example, once their names are linked with the reports, the victims are psychologically conditioned so that *any* attack made on the report is considered to be an attack on *them*. They automatically, 99 times out of a hundred, come to its defense. Or, if their common sense tells them that they have been used, their pride prevents them from confessing publicly this embarrassing discovery and so they remain silent. Nobody likes to admit that he has been fooled, taken in, or duped. The more conservative he is, the more this is likely to be true. Of course the communists, knowing these things full well, *always* load their material with just as many "names" as they can accumulate . . . the more respectable the names, the better. This is a description of the *communist* tactic.

It is therefore interesting to note that the World Order Study Conference uses exactly the same tactic. With every "background paper" there is printed a long list of "commision members".

I have not talked to a single one of these commission members. I don't have to. I know that the views expressed in the final reports are far removed from the personal opinions of most church members. IF THE TRUTH WERE KNOWN, it will be found that the individual members of the "commissions" had very little to say about the actual wording and terminology of the reports.

IF THE TRUTH WERE KNOWN, it would be revealed that very few of the commission members have ever read as little as half a dozen authoritative texts concerning the communist criminal conspiracy.

RESPECTABLE COVER

The 15 basic booklets of the NPOE and AFP are introduced, with respectable cover, by letters of "greeting", addressed to the conference chairman Ernest A. Gross, from President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Secretary-General of the U. N., Dag Hammarskjöld. (Gross, a New York attorney, whose clients include Dag Hammarskjöld, was the hatchet-man for the U. N. in the Povl Bang-Jensen case.) The International Journal features a similar statement by Secretary of State Christian A. Herter.

Oozing respectability, the booklets set about their task. We are momentarily distracted by a lavish advertisement on the immediate inside cover of International Journal, in the best style used by smutty newsstand publications, featuring a \$6.50 book on "Sex and Love in the Bible". We are informed that this "candid approach" features "448 pages . . . 12 chapters . . . about every aspect of love — human and divine, normal and abnormal . . . subjects examined in detail (with illustrations, possibly?) . . . Pre-marital sex relations . . . prostitution and adultery . . . other sexual deviations; Masturbation, Rape, Incest, Bestiality . . .".

And we are assured, in small type at the bottom of the table of contents, that "unless otherwise indicated, Scripture is from the Revised Standard Version".

These minor diversions done with, however, the booklets get down to business. We are assured that the "key to every basic code of human conduct is based upon the Christian doctrine that the individual person is the prime object of God's love and mercy. Human dignity and individual freedom thus become the basic purposes of society". We are warned that "It is strange that American Christians

should be deceived by slogans", but *what* slogans, we are not told. And we are solemnly advised that "The spread of Communism is based upon force or upon the exploitation of restless multitudes".

However, lest we become *too* anti-communist, we are quickly told: "The Spirit enables us to face the difficulties, dangers and evils of our time; to see the deeper unity (italics mine) underlying the divisions between men and nations; and to work in faith and obedience at the task God gives us".

This is the first little sign-post pointing to the prevailing theme ahead; a theme which grows and builds as the "Peace" material continues; the implication that we face not any danger from communism itself, but only from the *misunderstandings* between the communist and the free world; and the further implication that the "disagreements" between communism and Christianity are, after all, simply surface or superficial; and that actually, if we look closely, we will find that underneath it all Christianity and Communism actually have much in common. Hence, our *big* job is to straighten out these silly misunderstandings and misconceptions, and then we can live together in peace and tranquility in a world of competitive coexistence.

Unbelievable? Read 'em and see!

LET'S HAVE THE FACTS!

"Now, if Christians carry out their task responsibly, they must come to it with something more than good will and moral fervor. *They need to know what they are talking about.*" (italics mine). Thus we are exhorted by the International Journal. Further, we are assured by the Study Guide, "one principle of the Nationwide Program is . . . not to indoctrinate churches and their members with particularized views or dogmas . . . but to urge them to use the most responsible, thought-provoking materials available".

We are thus led to expect that the key leaders of the Study Conference were knowledgeable and recognized defenders of American and world freedom, and certainly that they were authorities on the subject of communism. And we find, indeed, that throughout the 15 manuals there are many references to other "thought-provoking" material. But, "responsible"? It seems that there may be some question concerning this allegation.

As I write this article, I have on my desk a list of 100 authoritative texts on the subject of communism, selected by the Knights of Pythias after a canvass of twenty of the acknowledged anti-communist authorities in this country, to obtain their collective judgments as to which titles constitute the soundest and most dependable works on International Communism from American sources today. (*)

I have carefully searched the NPOE and AFP booklets, and I find that the study material of the National Council does *NOT* mention or quote a single one of these 100 books on communism, found by the Knights of Pythias as the "soundest and most dependable works"! The National Council also manages *NOT* to mention or quote a single author of any of the books on communism!

Yet the National Council leaders have the incredible mendacity to allege their concern that Christian people should base their opinion on sound, dependable facts! Never was a more malicious pose of "objectivity" so falsely assumed!

The World Order Study Conference material cannot avoid acknowledging that the problem under discussion somehow concerns the communist criminal conspiracy. But the way in which the manuals skillfully avoid any head-on clash with communism is indeed a masterpiece of adroit

(*) You may obtain this list by writing to Headquarters, Order Knights of Pythias, 420 First Ave., N.E., Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

and skillful manipulation. I contend that such ability as evidenced by these manuals was not developed overnight, but came only through long and diligent practice by veteran apologists for the Soviet system of gangsterism.

Although written long before the Nationwide Peace Program, the Knights of Pythias have, in their compilation of books on communism, a foreword which accurately describes the National Council material. The K of P says: "Experts in the field of countersubversion have been disturbed to note the rise since 1950 of a new category of questionable books. These books may appear to be anti-Communist or mildly critical of the Soviets to the general reader and to the superficially informed. In the main, the books share a common characteristic; their pseudo-objectivity and apparently scholarly neutralism leave the average reader in a state of confusion and doubt as to the true objectiveness of world Communism, or else the net impression is left that the bad aspects of aggressive Communism today have been matched by similar bad things the United States had done in the remote past. In other words, Communist crimes are neatly washed away with specious sophistry, false logic, and under the guise of lofty 'objectivity'."

WHO ARE THEY?

Let us see if the Knights of Pythias description of pseudo-objectivity applies to the current "Peace" material now being distributed by the hundreds of thousands of pieces throughout the nation to unsuspecting and trusting local churches.

First, since we find *NONE* of the qualified spokesmen and authorities on the subject of communism present, who do we find? Would one expect to find pro-communists or fellow travelers?

On the basis of the evidence of communist infiltration in the field of churches, the answer is *yes*. According to one of the best informed scholars in this field, Dr. J. B. Matthews, the record shows that a small per cent of the Protestant clergymen in America have records of affiliation with communist or communist-front organizations. One might reasonably expect, out of the approximately 250 names listed in the Study material, that about two and certainly not more than three of the individuals *might* have communist front records . . . although one would also assume, since the discussion involved such a serious subject as communism, that care would be taken to eliminate those having any previous history of pro-fascist or other totalitarian sympathies.

Alas! We find that just the opposite is true. If Chairman Ernest Gross had deliberately canvassed the country in an attempt to get pro-communists into the conference, he scarcely could have done better. The percentages make J. B. Matthews' estimate a pale washout by comparison. Indeed, to list all of the communist front records of the attendees would require several volumes of *NEWS AND VIEWS*.

Methodist Gerald Kennedy was associated with the Methodist Federation For Social Action, an organization cited as subversive by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

Georgia Harkness, supporter of communist fronts for many years, including the subversive Rosenberg Clemency Appeal, was also a sponsor of the subversive Waldorf Peace Conference of the National Society of Arts, Sciences and Professions.

William E. Hocking has a record of affiliation with at least 26 communist and pro-communist organizations including signing the petition for the pardon of convicted

perjurer Carl Marzani. Hocking was also an Editorial Advisor of the subversive "Protestant Digest".

Carl Lehmann: sponsor of communist fronts such as the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and signer of the appeal to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell and a clemency appeal for the convicted communists Green and Winston.

Benjamin Mays, a sponsor of the subversive American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, has also served as Honorary Chairman of the Civil Rights Congress.

D. F. Fleming, a signer of such petitions as the Fellowship of Reconciliation's Appeal to Recognize Soviet Russia, also wrote to Alger Hiss offering to help raise money to "convict Whitaker Chambers of perjury" (It took 12 pages of *NEWS AND VIEWS* to outline the left-wing record of this one man).⁽⁵⁾

George F. Thomas joined in the 1959 drive to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, as one of the signers of the Jan. 7, 1959 petition which appeared in the Washington Post.

Philip Jessup has been a sponsor of the American-Russian Institute and was chairman of the Institute of Pacific Relations from 1936-40 and from 1944-46. The Institute of Pacific Relations has been cited as "an instrument of Communist Policy, propaganda and military intelligence".

Clarence Pickett, who has a long record of affiliation with pro-communist and communist front organizations over a period of many years.

Ray Gibbons supported the Communist opposition to our aid to England and France during the Hitler-Stalin pact in 1941.

Frank Graham has been linked with a large number of Communist fronts for many years, including the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Kenneth S. LaTourette was a writer for the subversive "Far Eastern Survey" which was published by the Institute of Pacific Relations; and he was also a writer for the publication "Pacific Affairs", published by the same subversive organization.

This is by no means a complete survey. We have not checked the records of all the names, but have indicated only some of the most familiar public records of communist or pro-communist affiliations. It is clear, however, by simply scanning the record, that the World Order Study Group was rigged with individuals whose sympathies have been with the Red Fascists. As J. B. Matthews has documented, in comparison to the vast majority of loyal and dedicated clergymen, only a small proportion have been "fellow travelers". If you were to try to do so, you would probably experience real difficulty locating, in your area, a Protestant minister with a significant communist front record.

Yet, in a small number of only 250 names, there appears a very large number of fellow travelers, known to have pro-communist records. Can we be expected to believe that this happened completely by accident? Still the National Council of Churches would have us believe that it is *NOT* their purpose to "indocctrinate churches and their members with particularized views or dogmas".

In the 15 key pamphlets used in the Nationwide Program material, the name of one expert appears or is referred to no less than 31 times. Surely there must be a reason for such top billing! Here, indeed, the National Council of Churches selected a real expert in the field of communism! Let us introduce (trumpets, please) Dr. John C. Bennett. (Incidentally, the Study Guide material consistently dropped all designations of Reverends, Doctors,

(5) For the left-wing record of D. F. Fleming, send 20¢ for the October, 1957 and November, 1957 issues of "NEWS AND VIEWS".

Bishops, etc., referring to all individuals simply by their Christian names. A new trend in classless society?)

Bennett (we might as well drop first names, too) was ordained in the Congregational Christian Church in 1939. He has been affiliated with the Pacific School of Religion, with Auburn Theological Seminary and has taught Christian Theology and Ethics for Union Seminary. His name is not new with the National Council of Churches.

Bennett's name, also, is not new with communist fronts. He was a signer of a petition sponsored by the National Federation of Constitutional Liberties, a group cited as subversive and communist by the Attorney General Dec. 4, 1947 and Sept. 21, 1948.

This organization was described by Attorney General Francis Biddle, (Congressional Record, Sept. 24, 1942, page 7687) as "part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations ostensibly having no connection with the communist party, by which communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters for their program."

The special committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311, March 29, 1944, page 50, stated: "There can be no reasonable doubt that the National Federation of Constitutional Liberties, regardless of its high sounding name, is one of the viciously subversive organizations of the communist party."

Among the signers together with John Bennett were: Max Bedacht . . . William Rose Benet . . . Alvah Bessie . . . Dr. Ernest P. Boas . . . Hugh De Lacy . . . Muriel Draper . . . Donald Henderson . . . Langston Hughes Arthur Kaller . . . Abraham J. Isserman . . . Freda Kirchwey . . . Alfred Kreyenberg . . . Henry Pratt Fairchild . . . Elizabeth Gurley Flynn . . . Waldo Frank . . . Rev. Stephen Fritchman . . . Hugo Gellert . . . Ben Gold . . . Corliss Lamont . . . Kenneth Leslie . . . Rev. F. W. McConnell . . . Albert Maltz . . . Rev. Richard Morford . . . Rev. G. Bromley Oxnam . . . Lee Pressman . . . Paul Robeson . . . Edwin Seaver . . . Howard Selsam . . . Max Weber . . . Nathan Witt and Max Yergan.

John Bennett, together with many others having extensive records of communist affiliations, signed an "open letter to the American People", carried by the Communist Daily Worker, Sept. 26, 1955, page 4. The letter opposed loyalty oaths, the attorney general's list of subversive organizations, committees investigating communists and other efforts by the U. S. Government to probe the activities of communists in this country.

John Bennett, together with a list of others having extensive records of communist affiliations, signed a petition to President Eisenhower demanding the release of the statement was in the Daily Worker, Dec. 21, 1955 and the Communist Daily People's World, Dec. 22, 1955. Among the signers of this petition were: Rev. A. J. Muste . . . Roland H. Bainton . . . Henry Hitt Crane . . . Georgia Harkness . . . Sid Lens . . . Jerome Nathanson . . . John N. Sayre . . . and John Swooley.

John Bennett served as Vice President of the League for Industrial Democracy. Although the League has not been cited by the Attorney General as a communist front, its left-wing and anti-American record can be judged by the public statements issued by the group from time to time, such as:

"The League for Industrial Democracy is a militant educational movement which challenges those who would think and act for a new social order based on production for use and not for profit."

— "a socialist attack on the problem of Government cannot be restricted to Presidential and

Congressional elections or even to general programs of legislation. We have to widen our battle front to include all institutions of government, corporations, trade unions, professional bodies, as well as legislatures and courts."

— "Capitalism, now so inoffensively called private enterprise, is essentially immoral. It is a source of corruption in business and politics. Private enterprise corrupts government enterprises and the only effective steps toward the elimination of these immoral influences are the rapid extension of collectivism and the advance of the cooperative movement".

John Bennett signed a petition to President Eisenhower demanding that the United States discontinue H-Bomb Tests, which petition appeared in the Communist Daily Worker, July 14, 1957, page 1.

Speaking at the World Assembly of the International Congregational Council in Hartford, Conn., July 4, 1958, Bennett stated that "the Christian Church (should) abandon the rigidity of its opposition to communism and the communist controlled countries". He further stated that we should "stop the continuous expressions of national and religious hostility to communists and communist nations".

Bennett, on at least three occasions, signed expensive full-page advertisements appearing in newspapers across the country, demanding the United States discontinue atomic bomb tests. The advertisements were sponsored by the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. A large number of the signers and sponsors have long records of previous affiliations with communist and communist front organizations. Among them: Henry Hitt Crane . . . Norman Thomas . . . Lewis Mumford . . . Clarence Pickett . . . James G. Patton . . . Oscar Hammerstein II . . . Harold Fey . . . Paul J. Tillich . . . Linus Pauling.

BENNETT'S BOOK

The public record of pro-communist affiliations by Bennett would not appear to offer a logical reason for his top billing by the National Council of Churches in a study series involving communism . . . unless, of course, it was somebody's intention to teach the advocacy of communism. Naturally, that can't be true. There must have been another reason.

Perhaps we have a clue! We find that Bennett has written a book, with an attractive title: "Christianity and Communism", published by Haddam House in 1948, which "seeks as authors new voices to give fresh guidance for youth". On the editorial board we find, in addition to Bennett, Paul M. Limbert, Edwin E. Aubrey, Virginia Corwin, Grace Loucks Elliott, Lawrence K. Hall, William Hubben, Harold G. Ingalls, Paul L. Lehmann, John Oliver Nelson, J. Edward Sproul, Rose Terlin and Paul Braisted.

It must be said that indeed we do learn something "new" about communism in Bennett's book. I am amazed that I didn't learn any of these things while a member of the communist apparatus for nine years.

For example: "The errors of communism are in part the result of the failure of Christians." (page 9). Or, that "Communism (is) a Promise of a New Order." (Chapter heading, page 12.) Or that "There is always the possibility of living with communists without being the permanent objects of their hostility . . ."

Strange. I seem to remember distinctly the red leaders telling their soviet disciples in my communist cell meetings just the opposite. These are indeed important facts (remember, we were told that we must base our judgment on facts) about communism.

"Communist materialism is not a . . . form . . . that leaves no room for any of the higher spiritual and cultural values." Page 24. On the same page, we are dismayed to find that Christianity is "the most materialistic religion in the world". Obviously, I have been misguided by every one of my ministers and Church School teachers.

"The whole communist attack upon capitalist society is ethical through and through". Page 28. I guess I'll have to revise my concept of the meaning of the word "ethical", too.

For several pages Bennett speaks of what he calls the "darker side" of communism. He then justifies every crime of the communists against the people, asking: "Does not a ruthless policy, that is by hypothesis essential to realize that goal, have moral justification? Does not the very directness and quickness of the process, if indeed it is direct and quick, make it relatively less painful than the long-drawn-out suffering of the victims of institutions? Now what can Christians say in answer to these questions?"

I know what my answer would be; but Bennett has a different one. "So far as Christian behavior is concerned, there has been in the past no clear case in principle against communist methods". However, despite the fact that "Christians" can support not only Communism but communist *methods*, the same cannot be said for our free nation. "Christianity has no stake in the survival of capitalism", he declares.

But, most fantastic of all, is Bennett's worship of the Red Tin God, Lenin. Among many other things he says, "Communist movements depend . . . upon the leadership of those who are attracted by its social purpose, who are themselves moved by moral conviction. Marx and Lenin were extreme examples of this" (page 25); or, "The contrast between the Christian spirit in politics and the communist spirit in politics can be seen in the contrast between Lincoln and Lenin. Both were men of integrity who serve causes that could claim high moral sanction."

To classify Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, who used the alias Lenin, as a man of "integrity" is as monstrous a falsehood as any pro-soviet lie I have ever read in any book, much less one that professes to speak in the name of Christianity. "Integrity" was one of the least prevalent qualities in the character of Ulyanov. His tactic of rising to the top was as a "wrecker" who would enter a group, gather a small group of fanatic supporters about him, then busily create splits and dissensions. After smashing the organization into factions, Lenin and his minority followers would then move in for the kill.

For example, at the 1903 meeting of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers Party, a Lenin faction called Iskrais engineered a dispute over party membership. In the heat of the argument many of the non-Iskrais walked out, temporarily leaving Lenin and his faction in command — who promptly seized the advantage by calling themselves the Majority (Bolsheviks).

Later, in 1918, Lenin managed to change the name of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party to that of the "Russian Communist Party" and arbitrarily added on the word Bolshevik in parenthesis — R.C.P. (b). But the truth is the Communists have never been the majority of anything, at any time. Even in the Soviet Union today, the communist party (b) is composed of only 3 per cent of the Russian people.

Hence, Lenin's application of the word "majority" to his dictatorship was a pure fraud; a fact obvious to all competent historians.

We must conclude, from Bennett's eulogy of Lenin, that he must never have read much about the man. It is true that there are probably few good books concerning communism in the library of Union Theological Seminary. But it is safe to say that they have not yet burned the Encyclopedia Britannica. On Page 914, Vol. 13, there is a straightforward description of Lenin which would not be found objectionable by any communist, but which we would not assume would lead a Christian to define as "integrity". We read:

"(Lenin) firmly believed that *only force* could produce serious social change". "Dictatorship he always defined in the sense of power based neither on law nor on elections but on *violence* directly applied"; "In praise and encouragement of *terror* he was second to none"; "A lawyer by education, he was *completely blind to law* as an instrument of social organization".

But if Bennett has never opened the pages of the Encyclopedia, it seems impossible that he developed such a worshipful attitude of Ulyanov without ever reading anything the man himself wrote. What did Lenin believe? Let's take a look at only two or three samples.

*Selected Work of V. I. Lenin, Vol. X, page 172: "The absolute necessity of combining illegal with legal work is determined . . . by the necessity of proving to the bourgeoisie that there is not, nor can there be, a sphere or field of work that cannot be won by the Communists . . . It is necessary, immediately, for all legal Communist Parties to form illegal organizations for the purpose of systematically carrying on illegal work . . . Illegal work is particularly necessary in the army, the navy and police."

Ah! That, for a graduate of Law School, is real integrity . . . truly an example of sterling character! Moral purpose? Yes, indeed — Lenin was loaded with it! Let's read: *Selected Works, Vol. 5, page 147: "Hatred for one's own government and one's own bourgeoisie . . . is a banal phrase if it does not mean revolution against their own governments. It is impossible to rouse hatred against one's own government and one's own bourgeoisie without desiring their defeat."

Gracious, such patriotism! If Bennett's concept of "morality" is in accord with Lenin's, this is what he believes: *Ibid, Vol. 9, page 477: "We say: Morality is that which serves to destroy the old exploiting society and to unite all the toilers around the proletariat, which is creating a new communist society. Communist morality is the morality which serves this struggle."

Referring to this and other statements by Lenin, Radio Moscow had this to say more recently:

"Morals or ethics is the body of norms and rules on the conduct of Soviet peoples. At the root of Communist Morality, said Lenin, lies the struggle for the consolidation and the completion of Communism. Therefore, from the point of view of Communist morality, only those acts are moral which contribute to the building up of a new Communist society." Of these same matters, William Z. Foster, head of the American branch of the red international, stated of the communist: "With him the end justifies the means. Whether his tactics be legal and 'moral' or not, does not concern him, so long as they are effective."

Yet, The National Council of Churches' "expert" on communism, John C. Bennett, states that Lenin was a man of "integrity" who was "moved by moral conviction!"

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL "EXPERT"

In a letter to me, Bennett complains bitterly that "only two other persons have used it (his book, "Christianity and Communism") as evidence that I am soft on Communism; one of these was Carl McIntire . . . the other was John T. Flynn who also quoted passages out of context."

It is little wonder, if true, that few people have attempted to begin comment concerning Bennett's "Christianity and Communism". To unravel the 128 pages of truth, half truth, innuendo, smears, slanted and distorted information, false and fabricated "history" would be a project of mammoth dimensions, requiring a volume at least 10 times the size of the original. We can only say that Bennett's appraisal of both "Christianity and Communism" bear very little resemblance to either.

However, this is the man who is selected by the World Order Study Conference to write not one, but two of the 15 texts used in the National Council "peace" campaign which they hope to foist on the unsuspecting churches!

What an authority on communism! How fortunate for the young men going into the ministry that Bennett should occupy such a high position at Union Theological Seminary! We can rest assured that upon graduation they will have learned all about the communist criminal conspiracy!

TRICKY BUSINESS

It is totally impossible, in a few pages, to expose adequately and uncover the conscious fraud of those who rigged the "Peace" booklets. The poison propaganda has been very skillfully inserted. If challenged, the perpetrators have "covered" themselves admirably. Let's take just one example, to show how it works.

The 15 booklets may be broken up, roughly, into four sections: 1, the International Journal which "sets the stage" (with left-wing writers, of course), 2, the 12 "background papers", which are heavily loaded in favor of communism. 3, the Report of the Fifth World Order Study Conference, used as the "basis" for the discussion groups, seminars, sermons, etc. But the *key manual* is the 4th, "Study Guide" which contains a list of questions concerning each topic and a bibliography of "selected readings".

Remember, first of all, that there is *NO* reference made to any qualified or recognized authorities in the field of communism. Hence, an "iron curtain" is dropped to prevent the victims from establishing an accurate frame of reference. They are referred, constantly, to John Bennett and others.

The tactics of brainwashing, as I learned from the Communists, is to begin within a frame of reference which will be acceptable to the victim. Hence, in Section IV of the Study Materials ("The Changing Dimensions of Human Rights", Chairman Frank P. Graham, 38 affiliations with communist front and pro-communist organizations) we start off in fine style.

"In totalitarian states", we are told, "whether communist or fascist, it is held that the state confers or withdraws (human) rights . . . we oppose this view. Human rights belong to persons because of what in God's grace they are, not because of the political power of the state . . . As Christians we hold that rights and duties are as inseparable as two sides of the same shield . . . We cannot act lawlessly and expect freedom, or refuse to work and expect a high

standard of living as a matter of right . . . In the light of these truths we rededicate ourselves and our churches to the furtherance of human rights for all people."

This section also calls upon the Department of Religious Liberty of the National Council to "conduct an inquiry into reported moves to destroy the human rights of Muslims, Jews and other minority groups in the Soviet Union and its captive and associated nations, and if warranted (italics mine) to make a strong representation to the United Nations".*

There is little here with which the average American would disagree. However, the Peace program now calls for "discussion" of the issues, and for these discussion groups we are referred to the "background papers", to the *key Study Guide*, and to "supplementary materials".

The first step of the "Study Guide" is to get the discussion away from that mild mention of Soviet violation of human rights just as quickly as possible. We are told, "A fundamental consideration in a sound discussion . . . is the *whole field* of human rights". (What this is to mean, we learn later). In the meantime, however, we are sternly warned: "Interest in human rights can easily be exploited for political propaganda purposes." (1)

"The question of human rights is sometimes used for political purposes to justify criticism of *another* country or group".

"Some people consider it praiseworthy to point out the infringement of human rights by 'enemies' (the quote marks placed there by the N.C. writer implies that he doubts that there really are any enemies) *while similar practices* in one's own history can be astutely ignored."

Finally, we are told, "Christians are reminded of the Biblical injunction to take the obstruction out of our own eye if we are to help in clearing the sight of others".

Now, notice what has happened here, in four smooth steps. Originally, (1) there was mention (very faint, to be sure) that the Soviet Union violates human rights. Next (2) we are told, however, that to say anything about these violations is most unfair and of course is done by "some people" (reactionaries, of course) for "political" reasons.

Then (3) we are led to equate the crimes of Khrushchev and his gangster regime against the enslaved peoples with the "similar practices" . . . obviously, crimes of equal weight — by the United States government and officers against the people of this country!

And then (4) the clincher: all things being considered, we had better talk about OUR faults rather than to say anything about what communism is doing!

(The exposé by Mr. Philbrick of the National Council of Churches' so-called "Peace Program" will be continued in the March 1960 issue of NEWS AND VIEWS. Don't miss this issue! Also, send extra copies of each issue to church people in your local community so that they can be made aware of this subtle propaganda in the name of "Peace".)

*It is truly regrettable that the words "if warranted" were inserted in this section. They leave a huge hole for the National Council hierarchy to find that such a move is NOT warranted.

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